This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

HD
6508
.K6

B 1,457,628

S XXIV NOS. 9-10

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES
IN
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
(Edited by H. B. Adams, 1882-1901)

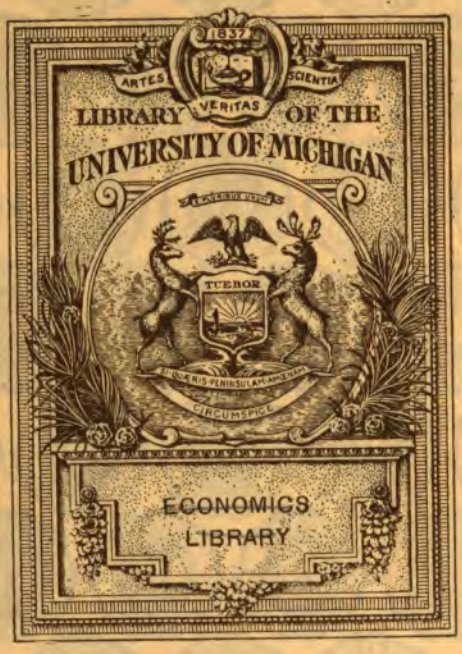
J. M. VINCENT
J. H. HOLLANDER W. W. WILLOUGHBY
Editors

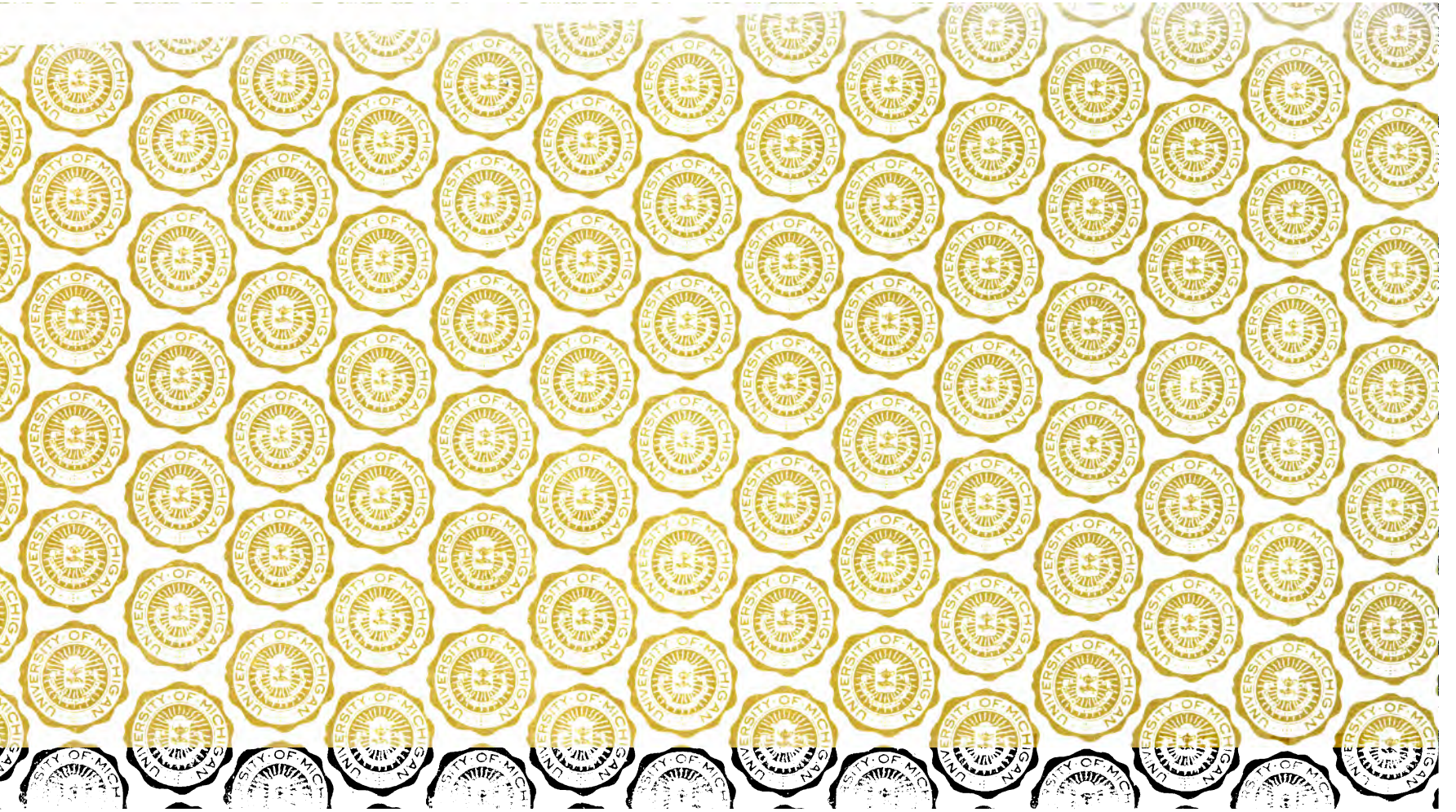
NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

WILLIAM KIRK, PH.D.,
Instructor in Political Economy in Brown University

BALTIMORE
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
PUBLISHED MONTHLY
September-October, 1906


1837
ARTES
SCIENTIA
VERITAS
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
TUEBOR
CIRCUMSPICE
ECONOMICS
LIBRARY


UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

118

HD
6508
.K6

NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

SERIES XXIV NOS. 9–10

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES
IN
HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE
(Edited by H. B. Adams, 1882–1901)

J. M. VINCENT
J. H. HOLLANDER W. W. WILLOUGHBY
Editors

NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

WILLIAM KIRK, PH.D.,
Instructor in Political Economy in Brown University

BALTIMORE
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
PUBLISHED MONTHLY
September-October, 1906

COPYRIGHT 1906 BY
THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS

HD
6508
.K6

PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.

[redacted]
Gift
Law Lib
10-11-27

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION 9

PART I.

GENERAL LABOR FEDERATIONS. PAGE.

CHAPTER I. History 13
CHAPTER II. Structure 31
CHAPTER III. Functions 50

PART II.

TRADES COUNCILS.

CHAPTER I. History 79
CHAPTER II. Structure 88
CHAPTER III. Functions 97

PART III.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

CHAPTER I. History 117
CHAPTER II. Structure 127
CHAPTER III. Functions 134

PREFACE.

This monograph had its origin in connection with an investigation of certain phases of American trade unionism undertaken by the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University. In addition to the large collection of trade union publications now in the Johns Hopkins University, the author had access to important materials at the headquarters of various unions. The information secured in this way has been supplemented by personal observation and by interviews with prominent labor leaders in the cities of Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, and Denver.

The author wishes to acknowledge the assistance received at every stage of the work from Professor Jacob H. Hollander and Dr. George E. Barnett, of the Johns Hopkins University.

W. K.

NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

The trade union has always been and still remains the dominant form of labor organization in the United States. In the development of the labor movement, however, particular purposes and conditions have produced associations uniting in a single organization workingmen of different trades. The present essay deals with the history, structure, and functions of such inter-trade associations or labor federations.[1]

Labor federations, as they have developed in the United States, may be divided into two great classes: general federations and industrial federations.

General federations include in their membership workmen of all trades. Part I of this essay deals with such associations; their history, structure and functions are treated in successive chapters. In Chapter I, the attempt has been made, not to give an exhaustive history of general federations, but to present those facts which seem to illustrate the general tendency of workmen to unite under a common government. Chapter II deals with the internal organization of general federations, clearing the way for Chapter III, in which a review of their activities in certain typical fields is presented. As will be seen, structure has exercised a determining influence on the kinds of activity favored by

[1] In using labor federation as synonymous with inter-trade association, common usage among trade unionists has been followed rather than the political significance of the term. Ordinarily, as will be shown, inter-trade associations are federations in the political sense; but some of the associations have highly centralized governments.

the national body, and conversely, the attitude of the organization toward national policies,—sympathetic strikes, political affiliations, socialism,—has produced definite changes in general structure.

Industrial federations or associations of several or all the trades employed in an industry, fall into two divisions—trades councils and industrial unions. Part II of this essay deals with trades councils and Part III with industrial unions.

The trades council differs from the industrial union in several important respects. The trades council in government is a loosely organized association, while the industrial union tends towards a high degree of centralization. Again, the trades council does not ordinarily aim to include all the workers in the industry but only the more closely related trades—usually, the subdivisions of the original craft. The trades council is the form of industrial federation preferred where trade interests are still strong enough to make the maintenance of separate trade unions desirable. The sheet metal workers, the machinists, the saw smiths, have enough in common to join a metal trades federation. At the same time, questions are constantly arising which concern only the separate trades. On the other hand, in some industries, the interests of the workman are so closely identified with those of his fellow workers in the industry that the organization by trades becomes subordinate to organization by industry or disappears altogether. In these industries, the industrial union is the form of federation usually adopted.[2]

The rapid introduction of machinery in some trades has obliterated the old boundaries, and the sharp distinctions

[2] An important consideration is the stability of the employing class. In the building trades, the workmen are constantly shifting from one employer to another. Their fellow workmen in the other trades are always changing. The interests of carpenters and bricklayers, for example, are frequently identical; but each trade has much work which has no connection with that of the other. In those industries where the same trades are always associated, and where the working force has the same employer throughout the year, industrial unions are more likely to be formed.

formerly observed are no longer considered of sufficient importance to warrant separate national unions for each trade. The brewing industry is a striking example of this development. In August, 1886, a national trade union including skilled brewers only was formed. A short time thereafter it became evident that the union was seriously handicapped by the members of other trades in the industry who remained at work while the brewers were on strike. Largely to overcome this difficulty a more comprehensive organization was formed. The new union was designed to embrace under a single national control all workers in the industry; at the same time trade autonomy in some matters was conceded. This change in structural form was due in large measure to the introduction of the ice machine which changed the character of the industry. The storage houses, formerly so important a part of every brewery, were replaced by mechanical departments, such as boiler houses, engine rooms, etc. Many old brewers, often assisted by beer drivers or other employees, served as brewery engineers for a part of the day. The manufacturing plants soon grew large enough to warrant each department retaining the same working force throughout the season. But these permanent divisions, while separating to a certain extent the different trades, did not prevent members of closely associated departments from filling, in an emergency, the places of others workers in the industry who happened to be on strike. The establishment of the national union of United Brewery Workmen was a recognition of these new conditions.

The increasing proportion of unskilled to skilled workmen in many industries is another cause of the formation of industrial unions. With the introduction of machinery less skilled workmen frequently take the place of the more highly skilled. In the mining industry, for instance, with its skilled and unskilled workmen—miners, drivers, runners, oilers, slate pickers, where separate organization for each craft is hopeless, practical results can only be obtained by a single national union including the skilled and unskilled

alike. Likewise, the Longshoremen and Marine and Transport Workers have extended their boundaries to include lumber loaders, unloaders and pilers, mill-men and all men employed in lumber yards, coal shovelers, loaders and unloaders, limestone loaders and unloaders.

In describing the various forms of labor federations, the trade union has been taken as the typical form of labor organization and only variations from that form in general have been described. For example, several industrial unions maintain extensive systems of insurance; but in the development of the systems, the lines laid down by ordinary trade unions have been closely followed. No description of these systems has therefore been given. The essay is not intended as a comprehensive description of labor federations, but as an analysis of their distinctive characteristics.

PART I.

GENERAL LABOR FEDERATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

Prior to the Civil War national trade unions in the United States multiplied without corresponding success in the formation of enduring alliances. Labor federations, in so far as they existed, were local in character. Thus the General Trade Union of the City of New York, active in the labor field as early as 1833, was a federation composed of twenty-one trade societies of that city.[1] The General Trade Union of Boston was organized in 1834 upon the same general lines as the New York Federation, and a constitution adopted at the convention was later ratified by the sixteen local unions in the federation.[2] Similar unions were formed in other large cities, notably in Baltimore and Philadelphia.

The industrial congress of the United States which met in New York on October 12, 1845, represented a nearer approach to a national federation of labor. The convention, called together mainly through the efforts of the New England Workingmen's League and the National Reform Association of New York, elected officers and adopted a declaration of principles.[3] The second Industrial Congress met in New York on June 10, 1847, and included representa-

[1] Ely, The Labor Movement in America, 1890, pp. 43–44.
[2] Burke, Central Labor Unions, in Columbia University Studies, Vol. XII, pp. 28–30.
[3] McNeill, The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day, 1887, p. 104.

tives from the states of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Illinois, and Kentucky.[4]

Little was attempted and less achieved in labor federation on a national scale between 1850 and 1864; but as soon as the Civil War had closed, interest in this direction rapidly developed.[5] The twelfth annual session of the Typographical Union in 1864 adopted a resolution instructing the delegates present to recommend to the local unions of their cities and towns the formation of central trade unions " for the mutual protection and support of the working men of all trades."[6] In the following year, the president of the Bricklayers' Association recommended that its executive officers be given power to act in concert with all other labor organizations of the country to assist in establishing the eight-hour day.[7] About the same time, a group of twelve men, acting independently of the trade unions to which they belonged, met in Louisville to discuss plans in furtherance of the labor movement, and issued a call for a general convention to be held in Baltimore the following year.[8]

On the twenty-sixth of March, 1866, the presidents of various trade unions met in New York City and decided to hold a national convention in Baltimore in August of that year.[9] This was supplemented a little later by a call addressed to the workingmen of the United States and signed by William Harding, John Reid and John H. Fay in the interest of the eight-hour working day. All trade unions were invited to participate in the convention, with representation upon the basis of two delegates for each trades assembly and one for every local organization.[10]

On August 20th, the National Labor Union, the name given to the new organization, met in Front Street Theatre,

[4] Ibid., p. 109.
[5] Burke, *op. cit.*, pp. 32–40.
[6] Proceedings of the Twelfth Session, 1864, p. 60.
[7] Proceedings of the Philadelphia and Baltimore Association of Bricklayers, 1865.
[8] Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, 1890, pp. 62–64.
[9] The International Journal, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1866, p. 19.
[10] Ibid., July, 1866, p. 149.

Baltimore, elected a full set of officers, but adjourned without adopting a formal platform or making any provision for raising revenue.[11] The National Labor Union reassembled in 1867 at Chicago and again in 1868 at New York, and displayed considerable vigor in agitating for a national eight-hour law.[12] Other important subjects discussed in the several conventions were: labor leagues, apprenticeship, co-operation, convict labor, public lands, taxation of bonds, national banks, currency and political organization.[13] Although conventions were held in 1869, 1870 and 1871, the membership steadily dwindled. In 1872 a final effort to revive interest resulted in the nomination of an independent candidate for president of the United States. Active participation in the national campaign of that year created internal dissensions which hastened the downfall of the organization.

Several years prior to the dissolution of the National Labor Union, a demand had arisen for a national federation possessing greater vitality and displaying a greater aggressiveness. At the fifth annual convention of the Bricklayers' National Union held in 1870, a resolution was adopted, instructing the president of the Union "to correspond with all the various national and international unions or assemblies for the purpose of effecting an organization of a national trade union to be composed of delegates from each national union or assembly, whose duty it shall be to choose officers, make laws, etc., for the benefit of all unions or assemblies working under their jurisdiction as represented."[14]

[11] Ibid., Sept., 1866, pp. 178–182. As one member expressed it: "The delegates built a splendid track and locomotive, supplied the engineer with numerous assistants, and neglected the wood and water to get up steam."

[12] The National Labor Union claimed the credit for the passage of an eight-hour law by Congress in 1868, and this claim received general acceptance among trade unionists; cf. Cigarmakers' Journal, Oct. 10, 1881.

[13] Sixteenth Annual Session, National Typographical Union, 1868, p. 37.

[14] Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention, Bricklayers' National Union, 1870.

Two years later, in 1872, a circular was addressed to the different unions calling an informal meeting of the presidents of the national labor organizations of America, to be held in Cleveland, Ohio, on November 19, 1872, for the purpose of taking the initial steps towards "the formation of an Industrial Congress of North America to be composed of bona fide representatives of bona fide labor organizations." On July 15, 1873, this convention assembled in Cleveland, elected officers and adopted tentative plans of organization.[15] From a letter written by the president of the Iron Molders' International Union to the president of the International Typographical Union, it appears that many of the thoughtful men in the trade union movement had decided to form a national trade assembly or industrial congress "with the sole proviso that such an association must be entirely free from political influences and composed of delegates from bona fide trade and labor unions."[16] A second session of the Industrial Congress met in Rochester, New York, on April 14, 1874.[17] Owing to the industrial depression of the preceding year, many of the unions had suffered severely and only sixty-three delegates were present. Among the unions represented were the machinists and blacksmiths, the coopers, the shoemakers, the tailors, the cigarmakers, the iron molders, the printers and the miners, together with delegates from the Industrial Brotherhood and the Sovereigns of Industry.[18] A declaration of principles was adopted similar to that drawn up at the Cleveland session, but containing these additional demands: a law to compel corporations to pay their employees once a month; a mechanic's lien law; a law to abolish the contract system on national, state and municipal work; a system of public markets; cheap transportation; and a law to provide for arbitration between employers and employees.

[15] Powderly, *op. cit.*, pp. 108–110.
[16] Proceedings, Twenty-first Annual Session, International Typographical Union, 1873, p. 13.
[17] Iron Molders' Journal, Feb., 1874, p. 278.
[18] Ibid., April, 1874, p. 332.

On the fourth of July, 1876, the Congress proposed to inaugurate an eight-hour day campaign, and in order to make the movement successful urged the closer union of all trade and labor organizations. Where sufficient unions or lodges existed in any one town or county, local industrial councils composed of delegates from each union were to be formed. A state council or assembly in each state or territory constituted the unit of representation in the Industrial Congress. This plan did not meet with popular favor and never attained any importance.[19]

In 1877 some activity was displayed by the International Labor Union, with branches in seventeen states, and having for its objects the formation of an amalgamated union of laborers, the organization of all workingmen along trade lines and a general fund for benefit and protective purposes. This organization in common with its predecessors failed, however, to supply the need of the unions for national federation and never attained large membership.[20]

From this time forth, however, the movement toward general federation assumed more definite shape. Not only the national officials of labor organizations, but the membership as well declared for a closer alliance of all trades.[21] The following letter, typical of the period, was sent by the president of the Amalagamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers to the president of the Cigarmakers' International Union.

I desire, through you, to call attention of your organization to the subject of "Federation of Trades Unions" which is now engaging the attention of many of our best labor societies.

At the last session of the National Lodge Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers of the U. S., the subject was considered and the following resolution unanimously adopted:

[19] The Bricklayers' National Union at its convention of 1876 refused to indorse the movement (Proceedings, 1876, pp. 19–21), and the Typographical Union passed a resolution at the session of 1875 disapproving of its subordinate unions taking part in any Industrial Congress (Proceedings, Twenty-third Session, 1875, p. 62).

[20] McNeill, *op. cit.*, pp. 161–162.

[21] For the action of the Cigarmakers, cf. Cigarmakers' Official Journal, June, 1877.

Resolved, That the Delegates of the A. A. of I. and S. W. in convention assembled, at Columbus, O., do instruct our national lodge officers to take the initiatory steps toward forming a federation of trades' unions, that they shall have power to open correspondence with the presiding and executive officers of all trades' unions throughout the U. S. for the purpose of perfecting such arrangements as will speedily place the men of all trades beyond the power of capitalists or monopolies either to starve them into submission or force them to accept less than a "fair day's wages for a fair day's work." . . . Should it meet with your approval, the officers of our Association will be glad to meet your representatives at such time and place as may be selected by mutual arrangement.[22]

That permanent federation was in the minds of labor leaders is also indicated by the action of other prominent national unions. Thus the Typographical Union at the annual session of 1878 decided to enter into correspondence with other unions, to arrange for a conference with their national officials, and to report the result to the next convention.[23] Again in 1879 the corresponding secretary of the Typographical Union was instructed to open correspondence with the different unions for the purpose of forming an international amalgamated union.[24] A further step was taken in the convention of 1880, when an invitation was extended to all national and international trade unions to send delegates to a "Continental Federation of Trades," which should hold annual meetings at such time and place as might be selected by the federation.[25] Most of the organizations thus addressed took no action on the communication, and further effort was for the time abandoned. The president of the Typographical Union declared in his report to the session of 1881: "The subject is of such importance that we can afford to suffer in patience numerous failures if as an ultimate result the mechanics of the United States and Canada can be brought into a closer and common organization for the common good."[26]

[22] Cigarmakers' Journal, June 10, 1878.
[23] Proceedings, Twenty-sixth Annual Session, 1878, pp. 31–34.
[24] Proceedings, Twenty-seventh Annual Session, 1879, pp. 31–39.
[25] Proceedings, Twenty-eighth Annual Session, 1880, p. 64.
[26] Proceedings, 1881, pp. 12–13, 25; also Cigarmakers' Journal, October 10, 1880.

Meanwhile an entirely distinct movement toward labor amalgamation had developed. As early as 1861, Uriah S. Stephens, then a garment cutter in Philadelphia, wrote to a friend in New York City: "I speak to you of unions as they now exist. To be candid with you, I will say I have little or no faith in their power to raise the toiler to the position he should occupy. They are too narrow and too circumscribed in their field of operations. I do not claim to be gifted with the power of prophecy, but I can see ahead of me an organization that will cover the globe. It will include men and women of every craft, creed and color. . . . Its groundwork will be secrecy, its rule obedience, and its guiding star mutual assistance." In the spring of 1869 this garment cutter, a member of a Philadelphia trade union started to put his ideas into practice by interesting his associates in a new movement. On December 9, 1869, the Garment Cutters' Union of Philadelphia disbanded and divided the funds in the treasury among the members in good standing. At the close of the last meeting of the union, a secret society was organized by Stephens and a few of his associates under the title of Garment Cutters' Assembly of the Knights of Labor.

Early efforts to increase the membership did not meet with much success in consequence of the secrecy maintained. The first annual report in 1871 showed only sixty-nine members in good standing.[27] Soon after the formation of Local Assembly No. 1, the ship carpenters and calkers organized and entered the Order as Local Assembly No. 2. Thenceforth, the growth of the Knights of Labor became more rapid, and by 1875 fifty-two locals had been formed in Philadelphia, and about two hundred and fifty in other places.[28]

A demand soon arose for a central organization of the local unions in Philadelphia and the environs. On Christmas Day, 1873, District Assembly No. 1, consisting of rep-

[27] Historical Sketch of the Knights of Labor, by Carroll D. Wright, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1887, p. 145.
[28] Ibid., p. 146.

resentatives from the local assemblies, was organized in Philadelphia. This plan proving successful, other district assemblies were formed wherever the number of local assemblies justified a federation.[29] Finally, on July 3, 1876, in response to a call sent out by District Assembly No. 1, delegates from the several locals met in Philadelphia, adopted a constitution and selected for the national organization the name of National League of North America. A year later, on August 2, 1877, a circular from District Assembly No. 1, was sent to all officers and members of the Knights of Labor notifying them of a convention to be held in Reading, Pennsylvania, on January 1, 1878,[30] for the purpose of forming a "general assembly," and establishing a central resistance fund, a bureau of statistics and a system of revenue to aid in the work of organization. In response to the call thirty-two delegates assembled, including nine miners, four shoemakers, four machinists, two glass blowers, one molder, one engineer, one printer, one steam-boiler maker, one nail packer, one carpenter, one cooper, one garment cutter, one blacksmith, one teacher, one glass worker, and two locomotive engineers.[31] A permanent organization with strongly centralized control was formed under the title of the "General Assembly of the Knights of Labor of North America."[32]

The preamble to the constitution adopted at Reading, 1878, bore a close resemblance to the one used by the Industrial Brotherhood of 1874. It set forth the objects of the new organization as follows: "To bring within the folds of organization every department of productive industry, making knowledge a standpoint for action, and industrial, moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of industrial and national greatness; to secure to the toilers a proper share of the wealth they create." Among the specific aims

[29] Powderly, *op. cit.*, p. 187, et seq.
[30] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1878, p. 3. For full text of the circular see Powderly, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
[31] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1878, p. 26.
[32] Ibid., pp. 29–38.

proposed were: The establishment of bureaus of labor statistics; the formation of coöperative institutions, productive and distributive; the reservation of public lands for actual settlers; the abrogation of all laws bearing unequally on labor and capital; the enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay a weekly wage; the passage of mechanics' lien laws; the abolition of the contract system on national, state, and municipal works; the adoption of arbitration in labor disputes; the prohibition of the labor of children under fourteen years of age in workshops, mines and factories; the abolition of contract prison labor; the securing of equal pay for men and women; the introduction of the eight-hour day, and the issuing of a national circulating medium, without the intervention of banks, to be legal tender in payment of debts.[33]

In the next three years, from 1879 to 1881, the Knights of Labor held conventions and displayed considerable vigor in organizing new locals. But, although in full accord with the ideals of the general labor movement, the new organization developed along lines unmistakably opposed to the traditional principle of trade unionism, viz., trade autonomy, and to that extent failed to satisfy the advocates of a national federation of trades. It disregarded trade boundaries in a large measure, and placed in the hands of the General Assembly "full and final jurisdiction" in all matters pertaining to the local and district assemblies.[34] The district assembly in turn possessed power within its district to "decide appeals and settle controversies within or between local assemblies."[35]

Partly as a reaction against this highly centralized form of government, and partly to carry out the original idea of a national federation of autonomous trade unions, prominent labor leaders in 1881 arranged for a general conference of representatives of the different unions. The National

[33] Constitution, General Assembly, 1878. Preamble.
[34] Ibid., Art. 1, sec. 2.
[35] Constitution, District Assemblies, 1878, Art. 1, sec. 2.

Labor Amalgamated Union, the name adopted by this conference, convened in Terre Haute, August 2, 1881, but did little more than prepare a call for a subsequent convention to be held in Pittsburg.[86]

In response to this call, delegates from trade and labor organizations met at Pittsburg on November 15, 1881, and formed the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions with John Jarrett, president of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, as temporary chairman. The platform of the Federation set forth the objects of the organization as follows: The passage of laws in state legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trade unions and similar labor organizations; the compulsory education of children; the prohibition of children under fourteen from working; the enactment of apprentice laws; the passage of an effective national eight-hour law; the restriction of the 'order' or 'truck' system; the passage of a mechanic's lien law; the repeal of all conspiracy laws directed against organized labor; the establishment of bureaus of labor statistics; the protection of American industry; the exclusion of foreign laborers under contract; and the proper representation of all trade and labor organizations in law making bodies.[87]

For several years after 1881 the history of the general federation movement in the United States centers largely in the struggle between the Knights of Labor and the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions. As each organization grew stronger, an aggressive rivalry developed. The communication issued by the Federation to the national trade unions indicates that some antagonism was present from the beginning: "Open trade unions national and international, can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men either over-zealous or ambitious, who busy themselves in

[86] Cigarmakers' Official Journal, Oct. 10, 1881.
[87] Proceedings, First Annual Session Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 1881, pp. 3–4.

attempting the destruction of existing unions to serve their own whims."[38] *The Cigarmakers' Journal* referred to the federation movement of 1881–1882 as in a "chaotic state, pulled and dragged in all directions," and advised against "all inferior systems of organization."[39] On the other hand, the president of the International Typographical Union recommended in his annual report that steps be taken to bring about a better understanding with the Knights of Labor. "We cannot afford to be anything else but friends," he declared, "we are aiming at the same object, and we should court the good will of the Knights of Labor, as they are a power in our time of need,—ever ready to extend a helping hand."[40]

The year 1886 marks an important period in labor federation history. Not only did the Knights of Labor then reach their greatest numerical strength, but the movement towards the national federation of trades gained new vigor from the transformation of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions into the American Federation of Labor. The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions failed to satisfy the more energetic and ambitious labor leaders, who were desirous of reaching some agreement with the Knights of Labor whereby the friction between that organization and the trade unions should be removed. In response to a call issued by P. J. McGuire, general secretary of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; A. Strasser, president of the Cigarmakers' Union; P. J. Fitzpatrick, president of the Iron Molders' International Union; Josiah Deyer, secretary of the Granite Cutters' International Union, and W. H. Foster, secretary of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, a trade-union conference met in Philadelphia on May 17, 1886. After the election of officers, the representative of each national union related the grievances of his particular organization against

[38] McGuire, The American Federation of Labor: Its History and Aims, p. 4.
[39] Cigarmakers' Official Journal, Nov., 1882, p. 5.
[40] Proceedings, Thirty-second Annual Session International Typographical Union, 1884, p. 12.

the Knights of Labor. The charges in general were: aiding unfair employers in their fight against the unions, the initiation of "scabs" into the order, working below the union scale and ignoring the hours of labor set by the unions.[41] As a result of this conference, certain proposals were agreed upon to be submitted to the special session of the General Assembly soon to be held at Cleveland, Ohio. As this "treaty" was the basis of subsequent proposals and explains clearly the position taken at that time by the trade unions, and thereafter by the American Federation throughout its controversy with the Knights of Labor, it is appended in full:

1. That in any branch of labor having a national or international organization, the Knights of Labor shall not initiate any person or form any assembly of persons following said organized craft or calling without the consent of the national or international union affected.

2. That no person shall be admitted to the Knights of Labor who works for less than the regular scale of wages fixed by the union of his craft; and that none shall be admitted to membership in the Knights of Labor who has ever been convicted of scabbing, ratting, embezzlement, or any other offense against the union of his trade or calling, until exonerated by the same.

3. The charter of any Knights of Labor assembly of any trade having a national or international union shall be revoked, and the members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly or form a local union under the jurisdiction of their respective national or international trade union.

4. That any organizer of the Knights of Labor who endeavors to induce trade unions to disband or tampers with their growth or privileges shall have his commission forthwith revoked.

5. That wherever a strike or lockout of any trade union is in progress, no assembly or district assembly of the Knights of Labor shall interfere until settled to the satisfaction of the trade unions affected.

6. That the Knights of Labor shall not establish nor issue any trade mark or label in competition with any trade mark or label now issued, or that may hereafter be issued, by any national or international trade union.[42]

[41] Cigarmakers' Journal, June, 1886, p. 7.
[42] Ibid.

Contrary to the wishes of the trade unionists, no definite action on the "treaty" was taken at the Cleveland meeting of the General Assembly. Later in the year a further effort to arrive at a permanent understanding with the Knights was made. Among other grievances, it was claimed that during a lockout by manufacturers in New York City early in 1886, in consequence of a strike against reduction of wages, certain cigar factories involved had been organized by the Knights of Labor. Similar acts of hostility, the Cigarmakers' Union asserted, had been committed at Milwaukee and Syracuse.[43] The general executive board of the Knights promised to investigate the charges as soon as opportunity offered, and to revoke the charter of the offending assembly if the statements proved correct.[44] Notwithstanding this action, the Cigarmakers' Union ordered a boycott against all cigars bearing the label of the Knights and endeavored to discredit the Order.[45]

When the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor assembled at Richmond, in October, 1886, the Cigarmakers' officials offered a further protest against the attitude of the Knights and asked for some assurance that the trade unions thereafter would not be interfered with by the organizers of the Order.[46] The response of the General Assembly was to adopt a resolution compelling all employees in the cigar trade who were members of both the Knights of

[43] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Special Session, 1886, pp. 30, 50. In a letter to the General Master Workman of the Knights dated March 6, 1886, the president of the Cigarmakers' International Union said: "I consider the action of your organizers in New York City a bold and unscrupulous attack upon recognized trade union principles, and hostile to the Cigarmakers' International Union in particular."

[44] The great strike of 1886 on the Missouri Pacific System was then in progress.

[45] Proceedings, General Assembly, 1886, pp. 137–138.

[46] The General Master Workman in his address to the Tenth Regular Session of the General Assembly held at Richmond, 1886, partly admitted the claim of the trade unions, but declared that the trouble had been greatly magnified and distorted. He recommended that any trade union having a grievance against the Order should submit the matter, through its president, to the General Master Workman and the executive board of the Order.

Labor and the Cigarmakers' International Union to withdraw from the Union or leave the Knights,[47] and adjourned without making further advances towards a peaceful settlement of the difficulties.

Throughout this controversy between the Knights and the Cigarmakers, the Federation of Trades had exerted its influence steadily in favor of the latter. Accordingly, when the representatives of various trade unions arranged to meet in Columbus, Ohio, the first week in December, 1886, the legislative committee of the Federation decided to hold its annual convention at the same time and place for the purpose of coöperating with the conference of trade union officials.

The two conventions met on December 7 and 8, respectively, and the members of the Federation of Trades attended the sessions of the trade union conference in a body. On the third day of the conference, the committee of the whole reported to the Federation that its committee had attended the conference and that all the delegates had been admitted as members thereof. The legislative committee also reported that the trade union conference had formed a new organization known as the American Federation of Labor with a constitution designed to protect the interests of trade unions. It was agreed that all moneys, papers, and effects of the old Federation should be turned over to the officers of the new organization and that all per capita tax due the old Federation should be collected by the new Federation.[48]

From this time forth, the Knights of Labor steadily declined in membership and power, while the American Federation advanced with rapid strides. At the present time the Knights play an inconsiderable part in the labor movement, and the American Federation is gaining steadily in influence.[49]

[47] Proceedings, General Assembly, 1886, pp. 200, 282.

[48] Proceedings, Sixth Annual Session, Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, 1886.

[49] In accordance with a resolution adopted by the General Assembly in 1893, the general officers of the Knights of Labor invited

In 1896 the Western Federation of Miners, at that time affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, had a protracted strike at Leadville, Colorado, which taxed the financial resources of the union to the utmost.[50] When the annual convention of the American Federation met at Cincinnati in December, the delegates of the Western Federation appealed to the membership for aid. The report of the executive council subsequently adopted by the Convention declared: "We hereby, and to the utmost of our ability, tender them, the Western Federation of Miners, the support of the American Federation of Labor and call upon the national and local unions herein affiliated, as well as our central bodies, to extend to them our moral and financial support."[51] Little further assistance seems to have been given, for the officials of the Western Federation later asserted that the financial contributions were scarcely sufficient to cover the cost of canvassing for them.[52] Largely on account of this lack of support from eastern unions, the Western Federation of Miners withdrew from the American Federation of Labor and laid plans for an independent federation to comprise all western unions. In response to a call sent to the labor unions of the Rocky Mountain states and territories, a convention including representatives from various unions met at Salt Lake City in May, 1898, and formed the Western Labor Union.

Progress during the first two years was slow. The small per capita tax imposed on the membership was insufficient

representatives from national labor organizations to meet and discuss plans for bringing the different unions into closer touch with each other. The conference met on June 11, 1894, in St. Louis, with the following organizations represented: Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Railway Trainmen, Railway Conductors, Green Glass-bottle Blowers' Association, Farmers' Alliance, American Railway Union, American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor. Plans were agreed upon for future conferences but they were never carried out; see Journal of the Knights of Labor, June 14, 1894.

[50] See below, p. 122.

[51] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1896, pp. 62–63.

[52] American Labor Union Journal, Nov. 20, 1902.

to carry on extensive organizing, and at the end of that period the total number of charters in force was only ninety-five.[53] At the convention of 1900 the federation in voting to admit three locals of shoe workers in Massachusetts, departed from the original idea of a western organization and thereafter admitted a number of locals located in the east and central west. In May and June, 1901, the annual convention raised the per capita tax from seven cents to ten cents per month, and ordered three cents of this amount to be set aside and used exclusively for organizing purposes.[54] Up to the convention of 1903 this special fund had never been sufficient to meet the expenses of organizing, and additional amounts were appropriated from the general fund. The secretary-treasurer reported to the sixth annual convention a membership of nearly 100,000, comprising 276 unions in twenty-four states, territories and provinces.[55]

In 1902 the fifth annual convention changed the name of the federation from the Western Labor Union to the American Labor Union, with jurisdiction extending over North America. At the same time resolutions were adopted favoring socialism and committing the federation to a definite policy of political activity.[56] The resolutions then adopted were as follows:

> WHEREAS the time has come for undivided, independent working class political action; therefore be it
>
> *Resolved,* That the representatives of the American Labor Union do hereby declare in favor of International Socialism, and adopt the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety as the political platform and program of said organization.
>
> *Resolved,* That we earnestly appeal to all members of the American Labor Union and to the working classes in general to be governed by the provisions of this resolution.

---

[53] Proceedings, Third Annual Convention, Western Labor Union, 1900, p. 46.

[54] Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, Western Labor Union, 1901, p. 66.

[55] Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, American Labor Union, 1903, p. 23; American Labor Union Journal, Sept. 3, 1903.

[56] Out of a total vote of 69, only 13 voted against the resolution.

PLATFORM OF SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA.

1. The collective ownership of all means of transportation and communication and all other public utilities, as well as of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines. No part of the revenue of such industries to be applied to the reduction of taxes on the property of the capitalist class, but to be applied wholly to the increase of wages and shortening the hours of labor of the employed to the improvement of the service and diminishing the rates to the consumers.

2. The progressive reduction of the hours of labor and the increase of wages in order to decrease the share of the capitalist and increase the share of the worker in the product of labor.

3. State or national insurance of working people in case of accidents, lack of employment, sickness and want in old age; the funds for this purpose to be furnished by the government and to be administered under the control of the working class.

4. The inauguration of a system of public industries, public credit to be used for that purpose in order that the workers be secured the full product of their labor.

5. The education of all children up to the age of eighteen years, and state and municipal aid for books, clothing and food.

6. Equal civil and political rights for men and women.

7. The initiative and referendum, proportional representation and the right of recall of representatives by their constituents.

But in advocating these measures as steps in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of the coöperative commonwealth, we warn the working class against the so-called public ownership movement as an attempt of the capitalist class to secure governmental control of public utilities for the purpose of obtaining greater security in the exploitation of other industries and not for the amelioration of the conditions of the working class.[57]

In the following year (1903) this political declaration was reaffirmed, and a constitution embodying entirely new features was framed.[58] In December, 1903, the revised constitution was adopted by referendum vote, and the federation entered upon a new era. At the present time

[57] Constitution, American Labor Union, Preamble, 1903, pp. 4–6, and Proceedings, Fifth Annual Convention, 1902, pp. 58–59, 61.

[58] Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, American Labor Union, 1903, pp. 92–93.

(March, 1905), in addition to the local unions and state federations, four national unions hold charters from the American Labor Union, viz., the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, and the International Musical Union.[59]

[59] Voice of Labor, March, 1905.

CHAPTER II.

STRUCTURE.

There are thus at the present time in America three general federations organized on a national scale, the origin and growth of each of which have been described in the preceding chapter: The Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union. Each bears a certain likeness to the other two, and at the same time has certain distinct characteristics. In structure the distinguishing feature is the extent of the power granted by the constituent bodies to the federal government. The Knights of Labor vest the General Assembly with all power not expressly granted to the subordinate branches. The American Federation is a government of delegated powers, and the national unions comprising the Federation are independent. Finally, the American Labor Union, while less highly centralized than the Knights of Labor, possesses more power over the constituent locals and nationals than the American Federation of Labor.

The primary division in the organization of labor recognized by all three federations is the local union, in which questions of policy are decided by majority vote of all members present. The local unions are alike in this one respect: they represent a democratic form of government in which each member has theoretically an equal voice. In important particulars, however, local unions of the three federations differ greatly.

The original assembly of the Knights of Labor was, as we have seen, a small group of garment cutters who organized at Philadelphia in 1869. On October 20, 1870, the first person not a garment cutter was initiated into the Order, and thereafter men known as "sojourners" on account of

their temporary membership in the parent local were enlisted in the work of organization. As soon as a sufficient number belonging to any one craft had entered the Order, a local assembly of that trade was formed under supervision of a sojourner, who transferred his membership from Local Assembly No. 1 to the new local. Although the original design did not include the presence of miscellaneous trades in one local assembly, succeeding events suggested this form as the most useful one, and thenceforth the ideal unit in the organization of labor advocated by the Knights became the mixed assembly, having as its primary concern the interests of all productive workers, instead of the particular interests of a craft.[1]

The American Federation of Labor, upholding the principle of trade autonomy, does not favor the mixed assembly. Instead, emphasis has been placed on the local trade union composed of members following a single vocation, and attached to a national trade union. Where the local union is not affiliated with a national organization, it receives a charter directly from the American Federation, and is known, for instance, as Ship Carpenters' Union, No. 6976, American Federation of Labor. On the other hand, the organizers of the Federation often find it necessary to form into one local union workers of miscellaneous crafts. Hence, "federal labor unions" exist only where trade unions are impracticable. As soon as a sufficient number of a craft is admitted, a new local trade union recruited from the membership of the mixed union is formed. This trade local in turn joins the national union of its craft when possible. According to the report for January, 1905, there are 1,181 local trade and federal labor unions directly affiliated with the national federation.

[1] The Knights of Labor formed many trade locals where conditions were not favorable to the mixed assembly; but according to a decision of the General Master Workman (September, 1882), the mixed assembly could not compel a member belonging to a trade local to withdraw from his assembly and join a mixed local.

Local unions of the American Labor Union are of two classes: (*a*) local industrial unions admitting to membership all eligible persons engaged in a particular industry in a locality, provided no national or international union having jurisdiction over that particular industry is chartered by the American Labor Union; (*b*) local federal unions admitting to membership all eligible persons in a locality irrespective of industry or industries in which employed, not united with a national or international union having jurisdiction, or a local industrial union in that locality.[2] The unit of organization approved by the American Labor Union is, therefore, not the trade union as in the American Federation, or the mixed assembly as in the Knights, but an intermediate form —the industrial union—embracing all employees in an industry.

The local assembly of the Knights derives all authority from a centralized national government, whereas the local trade union and the local industrial union are primarily members of autonomous national unions independent of the national federation.

Each of the three general federations attempts, as a prime object, to federate the local unions in each locality. Such local federations are much alike under all the general federations. The pure democracy of the local union is here abandoned and a representative form of government appears. Delegates are sent to a common meeting-place to discuss and legislate upon questions of common interest to the several locals.

In the Knights of Labor the local federation is called the "district assembly," and is composed of "duly accredited delegates from at least five local assemblies." Each local assembly attached to a district assembly is entitled to send "at least one delegate to the district assembly" and any further representation is settled by the district assembly to suit its interests. Any member may be elected a delegate

[2] See post, p. 127.

if he has been in good standing for at least six months and has attended the local meetings regularly.[3]

The local federations in the American Federation and the American Labor Union corresponding to the district assembly are "local federations" or "central labor unions" in the former, and "district and city unions" in the latter. These local federations aim to embrace all local unions in a given area and at the same time to maintain the strict autonomy of each trade or industry. Representation, membership, etc., are left by the national federations to local action. The American Federation does provide, however, that "no central body affiliated with the American Federation shall reject credentials presented by a duly elected or appointed delegation of a local union, chartered by a national or an international union having affiliation with the American Federation of Labor."[4]

Sometimes, equal representation in the local federation prevails, as in the Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, Louisiana, where each white labor organization of the city is entitled to not more than three delegates.[5] At other times proportional representation is adopted. A typical example of the latter system is afforded by the Chicago Federation of Labor. From each union of one hundred members or less two delegates are sent to the local federation, and "for each additional hundred members or majority fraction thereof, one additional delegate."[6] Following the precedent set by the American Federation,

---

[3] Constitution, District Assemblies, Knights of Labor, 1884, pp. 1–2. The same provisions appear in the later constitutions.

[4] Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1902, Art. XII, sec. 8. The above resolution was adopted at the annual convention in 1902 (Proceedings, p. 215), and was prompted by the arbitrary attitude of certain local federations toward local unions. The Chicago Federation of Labor expelled Typographical Union No. 16 in 1901, and refused to rescind its action until the latter part of 1902, notwithstanding the efforts of the American Federation of Labor in behalf of the local union.

[5] Constitution, Central Trades and Labor Council of New Orleans, 1901, Art. 1, sec. 1.

[6] Constitution, Chicago Federation of Labor, 1902, sec. 3.

the Chicago Federation excludes from membership any employer or contractor of labor.

The chief difference between the district assembly on the one hand, and the central labor union or the city or district union on the other, lies in the power exercised. The district assembly of the Knights, while subordinate to the General Assembly, has full jurisdiction and is "the highest tribunal of the Order" in its limited field. It decides all appeals, settles all disputes between locals, and may assess the assemblies for its maintenance.[7] The local federation of the American Federation and the city and district unions of the American Labor Union are more independent and at the same time much weaker in authority than the district assembly. This independence is due to the voluntary nature of the association, while the weakness arises from the autonomy exercised by each union in the local federation.

Next in gradation to the local federation is the state federation of representatives from the various labor organizations in the state. The first charter for a state assembly in the Knights of Labor was granted in 1885 under the following clauses of the constitution: "A state assembly shall be composed of duly accredited delegates from at least ten local assemblies" (sec. 1); "A state assembly shall have power to levy taxes or assessments for its maintenance upon all locals composing the state assembly and provide for such legislation as may be deemed necessary for the good of the Order" (sec. 2).[8] State assemblies in the Knights of Labor, however, failed to attain the results anticipated, and in 1897 at the twenty-first annual session of the General

[7] Later this law was amended so that the district assembly became subordinate to a state or national trade assembly, whenever the general laws of the Order so provided. Constitution, District Assemblies, Art. 1, sec. 2.

[8] At the convention of 1886, five state assemblies were reported, and in 1888 the number had reached twenty-two, including one in Belgium. The charters of all state assemblies working with less than the constitutional number of local assemblies were revoked in 1897. This left but three state assemblies, those of Colorado, Arkansas and Michigan.

Assembly, the general executive board declared that "district organizations although smaller are more compact and less expensive." In the American Federation and in the American Labor Union, state federations comprising trade unions and central bodies within their respective jurisdictions, seek to exercise functions analogous to those carried on by the national federations in their larger fields of activity.[9]

As a fourth form of organization, all three of the general federations recognize the national union of workmen engaged either in a single trade or industry. The Knights of Labor and the American Federation have recognized trade lines in the national trade assembly and the national trade union respectively, while the American Labor Union, as has been said, has declared itself in favor of the national industrial union.

The national trade assembly of the Knights of Labor has had a history interesting enough to warrant special consideration. In May, 1880, there existed 868 local assemblies and thirty-one district assemblies distributed over fourteen states. In 1881 the number of local assemblies had reached 1681, while the district assemblies had fallen to twenty-six, with a total membership of about 20,000. The year 1884, when the membership had passed the 60,000 mark, witnessed a change in the structure of numerous assemblies. A reaction toward the old form of organization by trades made necessary the recognition of national trade assemblies as an important subdivision.[10] At this juncture the cherished principle of the unity of all labor interests was subjected to a severe test. Mixed assemblies were found too extensive in their sympathies, and the natural desire for meetings where members of one craft could discuss trade questions asserted itself. Furthermore, the organization of industrial

[9] In a few states, the state federations of the American Federation are strong at the present time. Altogether the number of state federations in 1904 was 32.

[10] Constitution, Knights of Labor, 1884, Art. XII, secs. 1 and 2.

forces on a national scale made more pressing the need for national labor organizations along trade lines. As an immediate result, "national trade assemblies" very similar to national trade unions emerged.

Under the law enacted at the national convention of 1882 there were two methods by which any craft within the Knights of Labor could organize as a trade assembly of the Order, and gain the advantage of autonomy over trade affairs while retaining a close association with other branches of organized labor. The first method was by virtue of an amendment to the constitution which permitted five or more trade locals to petition the executive board to call a convention for the purpose of forming a trade district.[11] The second method was used where trades were organized in several local assemblies in a community. These assemblies could form a council composed of three delegates from each local assembly, to which all trade matters were referred independently of the district assembly to which the respective local assemblies were attached. Carrying this formation a step farther, the law provided for national trade councils.[12]

By these devices trade locals in all parts of the United States and Canada might continue in their respective district assemblies and yet obtain the additional advantage of having their trade problems considered by their own craft. Finally, as stated above, the constitution of 1884 specifically authorized the formation of national trade assemblies with power to enact a separate code of laws subject to the approval of the general executive board. Before a convention could be held for the purpose of forming a national assembly, three months' notice must be given to each local assembly of the trade. Even thereafter membership in the new trade district was purely voluntary on the part of the local assemblies.[13]

[11] Proceedings, General Assembly, 1882, p. 364.

[12] Ibid., p. 368.

[13] A typical announcement appeared in the official journal for January, 1887: "At a regular meeting of local assembly 2124 K. of L., ship carpenters and caulkers held on Feb. 16, 1887, it was re-

Under the law of 1884 the national trade assembly came to resemble in form the national trade union, but to differ from it in the exercise of power. The trade assembly of the Knights, coming into existence some years later than the General Assembly, became coördinate in large measure with the district assembly, and was entirely subordinate to the General Assembly. The national trade union, on the other hand, preceded by many years the American Federation of Labor and developed independently of other forms of labor organizations. When the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions was formed in 1881, the national trade unions retained their independence in all trade matters. The form of labor organization corresponding to the national trade assembly of the Knights and the national trade union of the American Federation recognized by the American Labor Union is the national industrial union. The constitution provides: "National and international unions chartered by the American Labor Union shall be formed on the industrial union plan and shall admit to membership all eligible persons engaged in one industry irrespective of the number of trades or crafts required in the operation of such industry."[14]

Having reviewed in turn the several less extensive forms of labor organization recognized by general federations, viz., the local union, the local federation, the state federa-

---

solved in conformity with Art. 12 of the Constitution that a convention be held in Philadelphia, June 1, 1887, for the purpose of forming a national assembly of those engaged in the ship building trades. The basis of representation in said convention shall be: 1st, Ever assembly shall be entitled to one delegate irrespective of the number of members; 2d, every assembly having a membership of 150 and less than 250 shall be entitled to two delegates, and over 250 and less than 300, three delegates and so on." Among other trades issuing similar announcements were the iron molders, bookbinders, bakers and confectioners, carriage and wagon workers, longshoremen and dock laborers, textile workers, carpenters and joiners, saw-smiths, silk workers, furniture workers, painters, paperhangers and decorators, etc. In July, 1887, with a membership of 511,351, there were 22 national trade districts.

[14] See post, pp. 117 et seq.

tion, and finally, the national trade union, we may now properly consider the structure of the final type, viz., the national general federation.[15]

Structurally, the most important feature of the national general federation is the representative convention, held at regular intervals. The question of proper representation has been, as in all federations, a vexed one. Large unions or assemblies naturally demand representation in proportion to membership. Where the claim is allowed, there is constant danger that the unions with greatest numerical strength in the federation may use this power to ignore or over-ride the interests of smaller unions. Each of the national general federations has had to face this problem.

The constitution of the Knights of Labor provides: "Each District Assembly shall be entitled to one representative for the first one thousand members or less and one for each additional one thousand members or majority fraction thereof. Locals attached to the General Assembly shall be entitled to representation in the General Assembly as follows: One representative for the first one thousand members and one for each additional one thousand members, or majority fraction thereof."[16] Owing to the peculiar nature of the organization, the difficulty inherent in proportional representation is removed, inasmuch as the district assembly embraces all classes of workers.

The constitution of the American Federation provides: "The basis of representation in the convention shall be:

---

[15] In order of formation labor organizations in the United States may be arranged in the following order, (*a*) local unions, (*b*) local federations, (*c*) national trade unions, (*d*) national federations, (*e*) state federations.

[16] As the membership increased, the convention grew larger and larger until in 1886, 658 delegates were present. This number proved unwieldly, and the old ratio had to be abandoned for a higher one of one representative for every three thousand members or majority fraction thereof. As a result of this change the convention held the following year consisted of 188 members only. When the membership subsequently declined, the old ratio was restored; see Constitution, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. II, sec. 3.

From national and international unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates and so on. From central bodies, state federations, federal labor unions and local unions having no national or international union, one delegate."[17] In this scheme of representation, a compromise has been sought between equal representation and proportional representation. Proportional representation seemed to give an unfair advantage to the large unions, and, on the other hand, equal representation placed undue power in the hands of the smaller unions. A system has, therefore, been adopted by which a part of the membership is represented according to a progressive ratio, and the other part—many of whom are also represented through their respective national and international unions—by one delegate from each organization.

Strict adherence to this progressive basis, as applied by the American Federation, however, succeeds in keeping the number of delegates within proper limits rather than in giving each union a moderate weight in legislation. The following law, adopted in 1887, neutralizes any restraint placed on the strong unions by progressive representation: "Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents, but no city or state federation shall be allowed more than one vote."[18] Thus, the power is retained by the large national unions, with the additional disadvantage, it is charged, of centralization in the hands of a few delegates. Where proportional representation prevails, it is difficult to unite the numerous delegates for common action. Under the American Federation plan of

[17] Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1902, Art. IV, sec. 1.

[18] Ibid., 1902, Art. IV, sec. 3.

progressive representation, the limited number of men who exercise a controlling voice based on the total membership of their respective unions, are in a position to form a combination at any time to rule the convention. At the twenty-first annual convention held at Scranton, 1901, eight unions with thirty-two delegates had 3,686 votes, while 233 unions with 278 delegates had 3,583 votes.

The American Labor Union in order to avoid this concentration of power in the hands of a few delegates, has adopted the following plan: "The general convention shall be composed of (*a*) all members of the general executive board, (*b*) the general president, (*c*) general vice-president, (*d*) general secretary-treasurer, (*e*) one delegate from each national or international union for the first four thousand members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional four thousand members or major fraction thereof, provided that no national or international union shall be chartered with a membership of less than three thousand members, (*f*) one delegate from each state, district or city union chartered by the American Labor Union, (*g*) one delegate from each local union for the first one hundred members or less, and one additional delegate for each additional one hundred members or major fraction thereof."[19] Since, however, the final authority in the American Labor Union rests with the referendum vote of national and international unions, apportioned according to per capita tax, the question of representation has less importance.[20]

The power of the convention differs greatly in the three organizations. The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor "has full and final jurisdiction in deciding all controversies arising within the Order, and is the highest tribunal of the Order."[21] Besides having sole power to make or amend any law, it retains control over all branches, and delegates what authority it sees fit to the general adminis-

[19] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. III, sec. 1.
[20] See post, p. 47.
[21] Constitution, General Assembly, Art. I, sec. 1.

trative officers and the subordinate divisions. The convention in the American Federation has power to elect officers, to fix salaries, and to pass laws without reference to any other authority. The convention of the American Labor Union has no constitutional power to elect officers nor to fix salaries; it can only make nominations and submit the names to be voted upon to the membership. In other words, the supreme authority of the American Labor Union is vested neither in its convention nor in its officers, but in the collective membership "expressed through the referendum vote thereof."[22] The general use of the initiative and referendum has made frequent conventions unnecessary and biennial sessions are now held.[23]

The referendum has been used to some extent by both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation. The former provides for the initiative and referendum in minor laws that do not affect the General Assembly and its officers.[24] The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions had occasion to use the referendum several times, and its successor, the American Federation, provided in the constitution of 1886 for a referendum vote by the membership upon any amendment to the constitution. In 1887 a further change made it possible for a two-thirds' vote of the convention to enact any law.[25] Although the Federation has submitted propositions to popular vote since 1886, the policy has never become a general one. The reason seems to lie in the practical difficulty of obtaining a proper expression of opinion, inasmuch as many unions in the American Federation are not prepared to register a direct vote. Until a larger proportion of the national unions have made successful experiments with the system, it is improb-

[22] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. II, sec. 1.

[23] In case of a general or sympathetic strike the referendum is not applied. The general executive board has absolute power to deal with the crisis.

[24] Constitution, Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. XXXII, secs. 227–228.

[25] Report of the Industrial Commission, 1901, Vol. XVII, sec. 43.

able that the initiative and referendum will seriously limit the power of the convention.[26]

The chief administrative organ in all the general national federations is the general executive board or council. It is composed of the president, the vice-presidents, the secretary, and the treasurer, in the American Federation; of the general master workman, the general worthy foreman, and three members elected by the general convention, in the Knights of Labor;[27] of the general president, general vice-president, the general secretary-treasurer, and (*a*) "one member from each national or international union chosen in such manner as the union may determine," (*b*) "one member from every four thousand members or fraction thereof embraced in local unions and individual membership," in the American Labor Union.[28]

The executive board supervises the work and decides questions of policy between conventions. The powers exercised by the executive board vary, however, to a considerable extent in the three organizations. The General Assembly of the Knights, for example, has gone to an extreme in vesting in its board power to deal with matters of local interest.[29] The tendency of later constitutional amendments has been in the direction of granting greater freedom to local and district assemblies.

The American Labor Union confers much greater power on the general executive board than does the American Federation, in providing that "the general executive board shall have power to discipline and revoke the charter of a national, international, state, district, city or local union, or to discipline any general officer, local officer or member of the American Labor Union; to suspend, dismiss or expel

[26] Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1904.
[27] Constitution, Knights of Labor, 1901, Art. III, sec. 10.
[28] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 1.
[29] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1895. General Master Workman's Address, p. 3.

for cause by two-thirds' vote any general officer except the general president, and any local officer or member of the American Labor Union."[30] Such sweeping authority is comparable to that formerly exercised by the general executive board of the Knights of Labor. But owing to the autonomous character of the national unions, to the more representative membership of the American Labor Union board, and finally, to the constant use of the referendum, this board in actual practice is not as autocratic as might be supposed.

The most important single official in the general federations is the president.[31] He is elected by the annual convention in the American Federation and in the Knights of Labor, and holds office for one year. In the American Labor Union he is elected in common with other officials by referendum vote, and serves a term of two years or until his successor is installed.[32]

The General Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, designated at first as the Grand Master Workman, presides at all sessions of the General Assembly, enforces all laws thereof when the General Assembly is not in session, and

---

[30] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 6.

[31] Called the General Master Workman in the Knights of Labor.

[32] The other elective officers of general federations are: the vice-president in the American Labor Union, eight vice-presidents in the American Federation, and the General Worthy Foreman, whose duties correspond to those of a vice-president, in the Knights of Labor; a general secretary and a general treasurer in the American Federation, and a general secretary-treasurer in the other two organizations; and finally, an executive board the composition and duties of which have already been described.

In case of death, resignation, or removal of the executive head, the General Worthy Foreman of the Knights, and the vice-president of the American Labor Union, succeed to the presidency. The vice-presidents of the American Federation have no legal right of succession, and the secretary, in case of death or resignation of the president, summons the executive council to headquarters for the purpose of selecting a president. The duties of the secretary-treasurer do not differ essentially from the duties usually attached to similar offices; see Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1902, Art. VI, sec. 5. Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. VII and XI.

superintends the activities of the Order. Besides possessing executive authority between conventions, he must interpret doubtful provisions of the constitution, and these special interpretations have been published from time to time under the title: "The Decisions of the General Master Workman."[33]

Owing to the nature of the American Federation, its executive head has comparatively slight official power;[34] but as the official leader of the American trade union movement he exerts a considerable influence over the activities of national and international unions. The American Labor Union delegates more definite duties to its president. "He may convene," for example, "any local union at any time, preside therein, inspect its work, correct its errors, examine its books, and require conformity with the constitution, by-laws, rules and regulations of the American Labor Union." The framers of the constitution by conferring this power "of general supervision and discipline," hoped to build up a system of government in which strict conformity to law should be a distinguishing feature. The president of the American Labor Union likewise may grant charters to state, district, city and local unions; and to national and international unions, unless a charter has already been granted to a national or international union having jurisdiction over the same industry.[35]

Among other important duties, the president of each of the three federations directs his efforts to add to the membership of existing unions, and to extend the work into new fields. For this purpose organizers are appointed in different localities who form new local unions and enlist new members. The executive council of the American Federation is charged with this activity, but as a matter of fact the president is the leading spirit in the work. The

[33] The edition of 1890 contained 220 of these decisions rendered at various times.

[34] The original constitution of 1881 made no provision for an executive head.

[35] Constitution, 1903, Art. V, secs. 9–11.

Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union give to their respective heads the right to appoint organizers whenever conditions are favorable to an aggressive campaign.

Again, the power of the president is conspicuous in the general convention of the federation, where he selects the committeemen who perform the actual work of the convention. Among the principal committees usually appointed are those on credentials, on rules and order of business, on general officers' reports, on resolutions, on appeals and grievances, on finance, etc.[86] Whenever special committees are authorized, the president as a rule has the appointing power.

Notwithstanding the apparent freedom enjoyed by the president in the exercise of certain powers, three important checks tend to exert a conservative influence over all his official acts, (*a*) the general executive board, (*b*) the national convention, and (*c*) the general membership.

(*a*) Although the General Master Workman of the Knights during the more prosperous days of the Order often possessed extraordinary power, he was always accountable to the general executive board, to whom any appeal from his decisions might be taken.[87] Similarly, when the president of the American Labor Union suspends a general officer who is not a member of the executive board, he must await the decision of this board before taking final action.[88]

(*b*) The national convention is a more general and probably a more effective check upon arbitrary conduct on the part of the president. The Knights of Labor require their General Master Workman to report to the General Assembly all decisions involving questions of law. Similarly, the

[86] At the Richmond Convention of 1886, the period of greatest prosperity for the Knights of Labor, the following committees made reports: Committee on state of order, special committee on financial and industrial depressions, special committee on legislation, committees on coöperation, woman's work, insurance, chinese importation and foreign labor under contract, railway insurance, education, laws, finance, appeals and grievances, journal, general executive board and General Master Workman.

[87] Other than upon questions of law which are decided by the General Assembly.

[88] Constitution, American Labor Union, Art. V, sec. 13.

presidents of the American Federation and the American Labor Union render to each general meeting an account of the year's work, and receive the approval or the censure of the delegates.

(*c*) Finally, the president of the American Labor Union is responsible to the membership at large. The delegates who compose the convention are sent to record the wishes of their constituents expressed through the referendum. The final authority in both the American Labor Union and the Federation of Labor rests with the collective membership; but in the American Labor Union, more so than in the American Federation, an immediate connection may be traced between official responsibility and popular control.

The structural similarities and dissimilarities of the three general federations may be further illustrated by a brief description of their financial systems. In the experience of English trade organizations, "centralization of finance implies in a militant organization centralization of administration."[39] The facts in American experience warrant a similar statement in so far as general federations are concerned.

The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor from the very nature of its activities needed a strong central treasury. By means of a central fund sufficiently strong to aid the branches of the Order in strikes and in coöperative enterprises, the national officials were better able to control the membership and to make effective the laws of the organization. A per capita tax of six cents per quarter for every member in good standing is levied by the General Assembly on each local assembly attached to a state, national trade, or district assembly, and a per capita tax of ten cents per quarter for every member in local assemblies attached directly to the General Assembly. In addition, the sum of five cents is paid by each member to defray the travelling expenses of representatives to the annual convention. Other

[39] Webb, Industrial Democracy, p. 94.

sources of revenue are charter fees, supplies, travelling or transfer cards, etc.[40]

The administrative decentralization in the American Federation is accompanied by a decentralized financial system. Starting in 1881 with an annual tax of three cents per member of the affiliated unions, the "Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions" reduced this sum to one cent per member the following year. Again in 1883, provision was made that: "The revenue of this federation shall be derived from each national and international trade or labor union, etc., upon the following basis: For one thousand members or less, $10.00 per annum; one thousand to four thousand $20.00; four thousand to eight thousand, $25.00; eight thousand to twelve thousand, $30.00," etc. Finally, in 1885, a further constitutional amendment provided that the several unions should pay into the central treasury sums proportionate to their own revenues. When the American Federation of Labor was formed in 1886 an annual tax of six cents per member was placed on national and local unions. The following year this tax was reduced to three cents a year for national and local organizations, with a tax of $25.00 a year on central labor unions and state federations. After various changes from time to time, the present rate was fixed as follows: "From international or national trade unions, a per capita tax of one-half of one cent per member per month; from local trade unions and federal unions ten cents per member per month, five cents of which must be set aside to be used only in case of strikes or lockouts; from local unions, the majority of whose members are less than

[40] The receipts of the Knights of Labor from 1879 to 1901 were as follows:

1879	$ 1,877	1887	$497,656	1895	$79,655
1880	6,120	1888	226,164	1896	40,119
1881	12,380	1889	127,026	1897	26,015
1882	16,934	1890	101,933	1898	22,699
1883	38,770	1891	112,738	1899	15,596
1884	34,114	1892	60,614	1900	16,710
1885	65,013	1893	52,683	1901	10,956
1886	206,602	1894	56,050		

eighteen years of age, two cents per member per month; from central and state bodies $10.00 per year, payable quarterly."[41]

The distinguishing feature in the financial system of the American Labor Union is the large revenue assigned to the defense fund and used for strike purposes only.[42] Out of the five and one-third cents per member per month paid into the central treasury by national and international unions, but one-third of a cent is placed in the general fund for current expenses. The revenue from local unions directly affiliated—twenty cents per member per month—is applied as follows: eleven cents for general expenses, four cents for the expenses of the American Labor Union *Journal,* and five cents for the defense fund.[43] A small revenue is derived from an initiation fee of $2.50 from individual members not belonging to any local union, from charter fees of local and national unions, $20.00 and $5.00, respectively, and from dues of state, district, or city unions fixed at $3.00 per quarter.[44]

---

[41] The receipts of the American Federation of Labor from 1881 to 1904 were as follows:

1881	$ 174	1889	$ 6,838	1897	$ 18,639
1882	125	1890	23,849	1898	18,894
1883	690	1891	17,702	1899	36,757
1884	357	1892	17,834	1900	71,125
1885	584	1893	20,864	1901	115,220
1886	474	1894	15,346	1902	144,498
1887	1,939	1895	13,751	1903	247,802
1888	4,512	1896	16,290	1904	220,995

[42] The present constitution was adopted in December, 1903. Previous to that time the revenues were derived from a per capita tax of seven cents per month, which was increased to ten cents per month at the convention of 1901. Three cents of this amount was used for organizing expenses, but it seems that the amount spent for organizing exceeded this appropriation. From July, 1901, to March 31, 1902, for instance, almost $1,000 had been taken from the general fund to supply the deficiency in the organizing fund. See Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Convention, p. 20.

[43] The receipts of the American Labor Union from 1900 to 1903 were as follows:

1900	$5,656	1902	$12,822
1901	3,970	1903	18,656

[44] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IX, secs. 1, 2, 4–7.

CHAPTER III.

FUNCTIONS.

From a review of the structural differences existing among general labor federations, outlined in the preceding chapter, attention may now properly be directed to a comparison of their respective activities in certain typical fields. This will involve a survey of the policies of the several federations with reference to (*a*) jurisdictional disputes, (*b*) the enlistment of new members, (*c*) the union label, (*d*) coöperation, (*e*) boycotts and strikes, (*f*) the eight-hour day, and (*g*) politics and legislation.

(*a*) One of the chief advantages of a strong federation is its ability to adjust the frequent jurisdictional disputes that arise between unions. A serious weakness of trade unions in their relation with one another has heretofore been the attempts of aggressive organizations to gain larger jurisdiction, regardless as to whether the added control has or has not been at the expense of other unions. One purpose of federation is, therefore, to bring about a clear understanding so that each union may control a certain trade or industry without interference from other unions.

In marked contrast to the effective power of the general executive board of the Knights of Labor to settle jurisdictional disputes, the executive council of the American Federation is narrowly limited in this field. Acting in a judicial capacity the council has little power to enforce its trade jurisdiction decisions—the real test of authority. The severest penalty which may be inflicted on a union for disobedience is suspension or expulsion from the federation; and this is not considered a great hardship.

An example will serve to make the gravity of the situation clearer. The United Brewery Workmen included in their

organization engineers and firemen. The national unions of these two trades, separately organized, also claimed jurisdiction over the brewery engineers and the brewery firemen; but as this claim was not allowed by the United Brewery Workmen, a long bitter struggle followed, in which the American Federation took an active part. The executive council rendered conflicting decisions at different times, but since 1902 it has consistently granted jurisdiction over the brewery engineers to the International Union of Steam Engineers, and over the brewery firemen to the International Brotherhood of Stationary Firemen. Recently the American Federation has threatened to suspend the Brewery Workmen, but the latter refuse to obey and are awaiting the next move on the part of the Federation.[1]

The slight influence of the executive council of the American Federation of Labor in jurisdictional disputes is due partly to the composition of the council. In 1904–05 the members of the executive council consisted of a cigarmaker, a granite cutter, a miner, a glass bottle blower, a wood worker, a retail clerk, a tailor, a printer, a machinist, a plumber, and a longshoreman. The ordinary trade unionist naturally dislikes to have his trade affairs settled by a board whose members are unfamiliar with conditions in that particular trade.[2]

Again, the absence of a central defense fund and the maintenance of separate treasuries by the national unions apart from that of the Federation, form elements of weakness whenever the council has occasion to enforce its decisions. To prevent, as far as possible, jurisdictional disputes, the

[1] The Brewery Workmen assert that they have the same right to the men who work in and around the brewery, as the United Mine Workers have over those who work in and around the mine. For this reason, they say, the American Federation is inconsistent when it makes demands on the United Brewery Workmen, and allows the United Mine Workers to admit engineers, firemen, blacksmiths, drivers, etc.

[2] Thus we find allied trades federations like the International Building Trades Council and the Structural Building Trades' Alliance, organized to deal with questions peculiar to the industry; see post, pp. 79 et seq.

constitution of 1901 provided that no charter should be granted by the American Federation of Labor to any national or international union without a positive and clear definition of the trade jurisdiction claimed by the applicant.[3]

The American Labor Union undertakes more definitely the task of settling jurisdictional disputes by giving to its executive board authority to determine the respective jurisdictions of all national, international or local unions, when not otherwise determined by the constitution. A clause in the constitution declares that all employees, irrespective of trade, craft, occupation, or calling, engaged in one industry "shall be eligible to membership in and under the jurisdiction of a national or international chartered union having jurisdiction over that industry."[4] Prior to 1903 the American Labor Union was inclined to avoid the responsibility of a decision affecting two or more of its branches. Thus, a resolution adopted in 1901 at the fourth annual session declared that the Union had frequently been urged to settle jurisdictional differences between affiliated bodies, that these appeals had multiplied without resulting in permanent good, and that in future the federation would act as arbitrator only in cases in which the unions directly interested should agree to submit the question, and to abide by the decision of an impartial board.[5] At the present time, however, with each local an industrial union and each national an alliance of all the locals in a particular industry, jurisdictional disputes are less likely to occur.[6]

[3] In 1902 the controversy between the International Association of Machinists and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers was referred to the executive council which revoked the charter of the Engineers. The convention held in November, 1902, indorsed this action; see American Federation of Labor, proceedings, 1902, pp. 57, 205.

[4] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 19, and Art. X, sec. 4.

[5] American Labor Union, Fourth Annual Convention, 1901, p. 75.

[6] For instance, where all men engaged in mining are in the miners' union, there is little room for the claim of another union. But with the present rapid changes in industry, if each branch be organized according to trade or craft endless complications may arise.

When an inter-union dispute actually does occur, the power of the American Labor Union is not weakened by the causes noted above with respect to the American Federation. The executive board of the Labor Union in the first place is more representative than that of the Federation, containing one member from each national or international union, and one member for every four thousand members in local unions attached to the Union.[7] In the second place, the American Labor Union has a growing defense fund controlled almost absolutely by its officials.[8]

(*b*) The activity of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor in carrying out their respective plans of organization resulted from time to time in serious misunderstanding. Any agreement in the nature of a ***modus vivendi*** would have prevented ill-feeling. But personal enmity among the leaders, who steadily refused to recognize the claims of the rival federation, delayed a permanent understanding. As each side persisted in its efforts to include all wage-earners, the circles of activity intersected giving rise to dual authority on the part of the federations and divided allegiance on the part of individual members.[9]

The Knights of Labor, relying on the full control exercised by the General Assembly over all branches in case of dispute, were anxious to secure as members persons already affiliated with local and national trade unions. This policy often led the Knights into sharp conflict with the national trade unions. The secretary of the Bricklayers and Masons' International Union, an organization whose attitude toward the Knights of Labor is fairly typical of the period, declared in an official statement: "We claim that a district assembly of Knights of Labor masons, in or near a locality where a

[7] Constitution, American Labor Union, Art. IV, sec. 1.

[8] See post, p. 67.

[9] A circular issued by the 1882 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions declared: "The open trades unions, national and international, can and ought to work side by side with the Knights of Labor, and this would be the case were it not for men over-zealous or ambitious. Each should understand its proper place and work in that sphere."

branch of our organization exists, is a direct injury to the advancement of our craft, for we claim and demand that all men following a distinct calling having a national or international trade union in existence should be required to join the order of his calling and no other so that all may be members of a parent organization."[10]

The American Federation of Labor from the very beginning opposed dual organization in any one trade. Where dual affiliation did exist, as, for example, in the printing, hat, cigar, and brewing industries, and where individuals were members both of a union and of the Knights of Labor, strict autonomy could not be maintained. Consequently, the American Federation discouraged all efforts of the Knights of Labor to organize into district and national trade assemblies such trades as already had a national trade union.

The question came up for settlement at repeated conferences, the Federation adhering throughout to its original stand against dual affiliation in a single trade. At a meeting held in Philadelphia, 1886, between representatives of the Knights of Labor and of the national trade unions, the latter proposed as the basis of an adjustment, that the "charter of any Knights of Labor assembly or any trade having a national or international union should be revoked and the members of the same be requested to join a mixed assembly or form a local union under the jurisdiction of their national or international union."

Renewed efforts were made from time to time to reach a settlement. The American Federation of Labor promised in 1889 that, should the Knights of Labor "discountenance and revoke the charter of all trade assemblies or districts within the Order, the Federation would agree to urge its members and all working people to become members of mixed assemblies of the Knights of Labor." The adoption of this plan would have given the national unions affiliated with the Federation complete control over their respective

[10] Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, Secretary's Report to the Twenty-first Annual Convention, 1887.

fields in all trade matters, and would have left to the local and district assemblies of the Knights the work of intellectual, social and political improvement. In other words, the Knights of Labor, divested of all trade authority, would have become the central reform bureau of the labor movement.[11] The Knights, however, refused to accept the terms proposed, and the Federation decided at the annual convention of 1894, that "no meeting or conference with the Knights of Labor officials shall be held until they declare against dual organization in any one trade."

The opposed principles of the two organizations met in a single issue,—the mutual recognition of working cards. The matter was vital to each organization. If the Federation and the national trade union did not recognize the mixed assembly as bona fide locals, then the members were not union men and could not work with union men in closed shops. On the other hand, if the working card of the Knights of Labor were respected by the trade unions, the members by that act gained status as union men, and the Federation practically lost its fight for trade autonomy.[12]

In 1886, when the committee of trade unions suggested a permanent truce, the Knights of Labor proposed the mutual exchange and recognition of working cards,—"the card of any member of the Order admitting him to work in any union shop, and the card of any union man admitting him to work in any Knights of Labor shop."[13] The Federation of Labor refused to concede this position on the ground of self-preservation, since blacklisted and expelled members of trade unions or men hostile to trade unionism could be initiated into the Order. Thereafter, trade unions would be obligated to accept the cards of these non-union men.

[11] It is worthy of note that during this period of agitation against dual organization, some ten or more trade assemblies acting efficiently as trade organizations existed within the Knights of Labor.

[12] Proceedings, Fourteenth Annual Convention, American Federation of Labor, 1894, p. 66.

[13] Report of Committee of Conference: Knights of Labor and Trade Unions, 1886, p. 3.

Although the Knights of Labor denied having any such intention, the existence of the power remained a menace as long as the standards of the two federations with regard to union membership were different. On the other hand, the Knights of Labor suffered if the plan for the mutual recognition of working cards was unsuccessful. Where a temporary alliance of forces was necessary, as in a sympathetic strike, the Knights could hardly be expected to work shoulder to shoulder with unionists, if at the conclusion of the struggle the trade unions could boycott the members of the Order by refusing to recognize their working card.

The unfavorable attitude of the Federation meant little to the Knights in 1886 when the Order was strong and influential. With the growth of the trade union spirit, and the corresponding decline of the mixed assembly, the situation became more serious. No adjustment or compromise was ever reached, and it was only when the Knights of Labor ceased to hold an important position in the labor movement that the question at issue between the organizations practically settled itself.

Up to the present time, the relations between the American Federation and the American Labor Union have been less unfriendly, although the American Federation has discouraged the independent western movement. Two delegates were sent to the 1902 convention of the Western Labor Union in the interest of international federation, one of whom in his address declared: "You cannot have two organizations in America claiming the same jurisdiction without friction; it is difficult enough for international organizations to live to-day. We ask every wage-earner, organized and unorganized, to go into their local unions and to see that those local unions are affiliated with their national organizations, and that those national organizations should stand for unity,—namely, the American Federation of Labor."[14] These advances of the American Federation

[14] Proceedings, American Labor Union, 1902, pp. 40–42.

were not received with favor, and a short time thereafter the secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union in his annual report said: "With all respect to those thousands of really earnest and sincere unionists who are members of the American Federation of Labor, it must be said that the attitude of the general officers and executive council of that organization during the past year has been such as to merit the supreme contempt of real unionists everywhere."[15] The American Labor Union has indeed made efforts from time to time to win over certain eastern unions already affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

(*c*) The trade label was first used by a local cigarmakers' union in San Francisco, in 1874, to distinguish American made cigars from the work of competing Chinese coolies. Local assemblies of cigarmakers were active in the Knights of Labor as early as 1882, but apparently no difference manifested itself between the assemblies and the unions with respect to the label. The *Journal* of the Knights of Labor declared in November, 1882: "Both organizations, the Knights and the Cigarmakers' International Union, have a common purpose in trying to protect the product of union labor." Unfortunately, however, whereas the Cigarmakers' Union had adopted a blue label as the stamp of union goods, the Knights of Labor, wishing a distinctive mark, chose a white cigar label. As a result, the harmony at first present soon gave way to keen competition between the organizations, growing more and more intense, until it became bitter rivalry and open conflict.

The American Federation, as we have seen, exerted its influence in favor of the national trade union. Had the Federation recognized the labels of the Knights of Labor, the latter organization would have been virtually granted full rights as a union, and vested with coördinate authority in the conduct of trade affairs. To prevent this condition, the proposed "treaty" of 1886 contained the provision:

[15] Report of the Secretary-treasurer, Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, American Labor Union.

"The Knights of Labor shall not establish or issue any trade mark or label in competition with any trade mark or label now issued, or that may be hereafter issued by any National or International Union."[16] The Knights of Labor, however, regarded themselves as pioneers in the use of the label and refused to give up its use. At subsequent conferences between representatives of the Knights of Labor and the American Federation, the two organizations insisted on their respective demands without definite result.

The methods employed by the Knights and the Federation in extending the use of the label have been largely influenced by their structural differences. The Knights of Labor, highly centralized, issue labels from headquarters, and vest in the general executive board complete control over their distribution. The American Federation, on the other hand, makes no attempt to control the labels of national and international unions, merely indorsing and advocating those already adopted.[17]

In order to gain uniformity and more particularly to prevent counterfeiting, a universal label has from time to time been suggested. The general executive board of the Knights of Labor in 1884 actually adopted a general label to be used upon all goods manufactured or sold by members, but this device was soon replaced by individual trade labels.[18] In 1900 the officials of the American Federation obtained a legal opinion to the effect that counterfeiting could be better punished if all unions should surrender their labels and adopt that of the Federation of Labor. Inasmuch as this would involve the surrender by each union of some part of the very trade autonomy for which the Federation had always contended and the recognition of the Federation as a sovereign body, at least for the purpose of "issuing, con-

[16] Report of Committee of Conference: Knights of Labor and Trade Unions, 1886, p. 3.

[17] Only local and federal labor unions directly attached to the American Federation receive their labels from national headquarters.

[18] Proceedings, General Assembly, 1884, pp. 624–625.

trolling, protecting, and defending the universal label," the step recommended has not been taken.[19]

Prior to the annual convention of 1903, the label policy of the American Labor Union was similar to that of the Federation of Labor. Thus, at the third annual session resolutions were adopted favoring the labels of certain unions, and pledging the support of the Union to the United Brewery Workmen and the Cigarmakers' International Union in their efforts to extend the use of the trade label. The convention of the following year declared: "We, the members of the Western Labor Union, do hereby pledge ourselves to assist those organizations handling union goods by demanding and purchasing no other class of goods than those which bear the union label."[20] Finally, at the sixth convention, the committee on resolutions recommended that the union label adopted by the American Labor Union be the only label issued by any local, national, or international union or organization affiliated with the national federation, and that the only difference permitted be with respect to the size and shape of the uniform design.[21] By accepting this report the convention practically established a universal label for all branches of the American Labor Union.

(*d*) It is clear that the founders of the Knights of Labor conceived an industrial system in which men should work for themselves instead of for others. For such an undertaking, the structure of the Knights of Labor was far superior to that of the rival federation. The mixed assembly admitted men in many walks of life, and controlled demand as well as production. If a trade local embarked on a coöperative enterprise, the chances of success were minimized by virtue of the limited number directly concerned; but when a mixed local, in a community organized into

[19] American Federationist, December, 1900, pp. 376–377; Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 30.

[20] Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, Western Labor Union, 1901, p. 72.

[21] Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, American Labor Union, 1903, p. 78.

Knights of Labor assemblies, ventured on independent production, the collective patronage affiliated therewith assured a market. As the local became the factory, the district or union of neighboring locals developed into the exchange.

Two schools of thought early differentiated themselves in the Knights of Labor. The one advocated an aggressive policy of strikes in order to enforce demands. The other, representing the conservative element, emphasized the futility of strikes as a factor in attaining permanent reform. It was due to the influence of the peace adherents that coöperation found persistent encouragement. In June, 1882, a coöperative fund, with a compulsory feature attached, was established. From this fund investments were made and enterprises started as the financial condition of the Order justified. The compulsory nature of the law, however, proved a serious defect and soon led to the adoption of an amendment making contributions voluntary.[22]

With modified machinery, the officials thereafter sought to realize, at least in some degree, the industrial state conceived as an ultimate aim of the movement. Experiments in coöperative stores, factories, and institutions, were reported in 1882 from seventeen out of one hundred localities. In 1887 the general coöperative board, which had been created for the purpose of encouraging and conducting coöperative enterprises, announced that eight halls and buildings, eleven newspapers and fifty-four workshops, factories, etc., were conducted on a coöperative plan.[23] The general result of such ventures was disappointing. Probably the chief cause of failure was the lack of business experience in the management of the coöperative enterprises. Such undertakings ordinarily originated in a strike or lockout, where men entered upon the project with funds drawn from the central treasury. As soon as the trouble ceased, and choice had to be made between a safe situation and

[22] Constitution, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1884, p. 16.

[23] Proceedings, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Eleventh Regular Session, 1887; see Report of the General Coöperative Board.

participation in a risky venture, the enthusiasm rapidly abated. The small confidence placed in the managers and the opposition encountered on all sides from independent producers were also important influences in the business failures of the Knights.[24]

The ideal of coöperation, as conceived by the Order, included the establishment and maintenance of industrial peace by bringing both employers and employees into one organization. Though this ideal was not realized to any extent, it explains the readiness with which the Knights so often consulted the wishes of the employers, and the willingness with which the Order joined hands with one organization of employers,—the Farmers' Alliance.[25] The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, has made no attempt to become an employer through coöperative enterprises and has refused to organize farmers into unions, on the ground that they were employers and not workmen.

(*e*) The Knights of Labor developed the use of the boycott as an instrument of industrial warfare. The same breadth of organization that facilitated the distribution of coöperative products was effective in the field of consumption. A trade union in any locality may cease purchasing an article without appreciably reducing its sale, since the number of consumers observing the boycott is necessarily small; but an assembly of the Knights of Labor, supported by a large part of the laboring consumers in the vicinity,

[24] The most ambitious venture of the Knights of Labor in coöperation took place in 1884 when a coal mine at Cannellburg, Indiana, was purchased for $10,000. An assessment of 20 cents per member was levied in October, 1884, for the purpose of making improvements. Misfortunes, however, followed in rapid succession until in 1897 the general executive board decided to sell the mine for $4,000; see Proceedings, General Assembly, 1897, p. 34.

[25] Journal of the Knights of Labor, Vol. XI, No. 6, Aug. 7, 1890. The preamble adopted by the General Assembly in 1878 favored "the substitution of arbitration for strikes, wherever and whenever employers and employees are willing to meet on equitable grounds"; and the preamble to the constitution of 1884 included as one of its demands (sec. 10), "the enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators."

wielded an influence in proportion to the purchasing power of all the members interested. More important still, under the centralized power whereby the General Assembly controlled the subordinate divisions, a strict observance of a boycott was secured.[26] In actual practice, however, the general executive board, in whose hands the authority to place a boycott rested, usually depended upon the voluntary action of the membership. Circulars containing a full statement of the case were sent to the local assemblies, with the request that they be read at successive meetings to acquaint the members with the facts.[27]

The American Federation of Labor and the American Labor Union have paid considerable attention to the exercise of the boycott as a national function. The American Labor Union grants to its general executive board, for example, power "to declare any article, individual, firm, company, corporation, trust, railway, or other person, institution or thing, fair or unfair to organized labor; and all national, international or local unions, or individual members of the American Labor Union shall absolutely respect and comply with these declarations."[28]

The method usually employed by the American Federation in placing a boycott is as follows: Local or national unions with grievances send resolutions to the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor. The committee of the Federation whose duty it is to investigate the justice of the complaint, reports to the executive council or to the annual convention, if in session. In case of a favorable report, a boycott is declared on the products of the firm or firms involved, and the names of the manufacturers are published monthly in the "unfair list" of the *American*

[26] Any order issued by the general executive board whether in the form of a circular or through the columns of the official journal had to be obeyed; any assembly refusing to obey was guilty of insubordination and liable to be suspended; see "Decisions of the General Master Workman," 1890, No. 60.

[27] Journal of United Labor, February 11 and 25, 1888.

[28] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 15.

Federationist, the official journal of the American Federation of Labor. In addition to placing the firms on the "unfair list," circulars are sent to the unions in the Federation, requesting all union men to cease purchasing the products of the boycotted firms. At the present time the national officials exercise considerable care in the use of the boycott, and concentrate attention upon a small number of firms.[29]

In the fourth convention at Pittsburg, 1880, the Knights of Labor declared that "strikes are as a rule productive of more injury than benefit to the working people, consequently, all attempts to foment strikes will be discouraged."[30] At that time no provision for strikes appeared in the constitution; but when the organization came into contact with practical affairs, a strike fever swept over the membership and strike regulations became necessary. In the constitution of 1884 provision was made for district executive boards with power to accept or reject the terms offered by employers during a strike.[31] Moreover, a district assembly, having ordered a strike of any local in its jurisdiction, was privileged to draw upon the funds of other district assemblies whenever the assistance fund had become exhausted.[32] The amount received in this way from different assemblies was considered a loan without interest to be repaid as soon as possible.

The movement was not confined to trade or local strikes, however, for strong influences were at work to convert the Order into an aggressive militant organization. Accepting

[29] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 85.

[30] The General Master Workman in his address to the sixth regular session of the General Assembly, 1882, said: "A strike cannot remove or repeal unjust laws, for at best, the strike secures but temporary relief; it may result in an advance in wages, but, if so, it is a dearly bought victory, and at the first available opportunity another reduction is imposed"; see Proceedings, General Assembly, 1882, p. 278.

[31] Constitution, District Assemblies, Knights of Labor, 1884, Art. VII, sec. 2.

[32] Constitution, General Assembly, 1884, Art. XV, sec. 6.

the motto, "An injury to one is the concern of all," in the literal sense, the newly initiated element sought to widen the area of every strike by ordering out all the employees of an offending employer. The most conspicuous example of this tendency, and in fact the first great sympathetic strike of the Knights took place in 1886 on the Southwestern Railroad System.[33] The trouble concerned one branch alone; but the district assembly, acting upon the authority granted by the constitution, ordered a general strike. The strike on the Southwestern Division ended disastrously, and the sympathetic strike fell into temporary discredit. Resolutions were adopted at the special session of the General Assembly, 1886, forbidding any local, trade district, or state assembly to declare a strike before a secret ballot had been taken of all the members in good standing, and in no case permitting a strike unless two-thirds of those immediately concerned voted in favor of it.[34] In two other instances the Knights of Labor tried similar experiments on a large scale and each time failed in their demands.[35] Though the machinery for carrying on sympathetic strikes remained, the Knights thereafter accepted the general verdict that federation activity in this field did not pay.

The American Federation of Labor has regarded the strike as the best means to gain trade union ends under a system of capitalistic production, and has advocated thorough organization along trade lines as the strongest protection of labor. Being merely an advisory center, and depending upon the loyalty of trade unionists working through their respective nationals, the Federation has been unable to act positively or directly with respect to strikes. It can recommend and urge certain policies, but it lacks the

[33] Hall, Sympathetic Strikes and Sympathetic Lockouts, in Columbia University Studies, Vol. X, p. 82.

[34] Proceedings, Special Session, General Assembly, 1886, p. 49.

[35] The two strikes referred to are the Longshoremen's strike which began the first week in January, 1887, and the Reading Railroad strike of 1888.

centralized control so prominent in the Knights of Labor.[86] Consequently, the Federation, profiting by the costly experience of its contemporary, has followed a conservative course in industrial conflicts and has served only as a source of moral and financial support to the national unions involved.[87] The secretary of the American Federation before the fifteenth annual convention in 1895 declared that sympathetic strikes are not opposed by the organization and that assistance would be given wherever it was needed; nevertheless, he added, as there is a limit to the assistance exacted of one union in support of another, the safest plan is to allow the individual organization itself to judge. This position when strictly adhered to limits the Federation to serving as a convenient center from which moral and financial aid may be distributed.

The American Labor Union, on the other hand, gives to its executive board the power "to approve or sanction a strike of any national or international union, local union or number of local unions, when the same has been ordered by a two-thirds' vote of all members voting on secret ballot."[88] Unless the subordinate unions comply with these regulations the federation withholds moral and financial support. Moreover, the American Labor Union, by constitutional provision adopted by referendum vote in 1903, grants to its general executive board full power "by two-thirds' vote to initiate and order local or general strikes of any and all members of the American Labor Union, or any national, international, or local union or unions thereof, at any time or place, whenever in the judgment of the general

[86] The officials of the Federation of Labor, for example, have consistently urged the adoption of high dues and benefits and have impressed the fact that a strong treasury is the great factor in a successful strike.

[87] For instance, the convention of the American Federation held at San Francisco, November, 1904, levied an assessment of one cent per week for three weeks on the membership to aid the United Textile Workers in their strike at Fall River, Mass.; see Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1904, p. 155.

[88] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 6.

executive such action is necessary for the welfare of the American Labor Union."[39]

All three of the general federations maintain defense funds, and the disbursement of these funds is in the hands of the executive boards. The Knights of Labor established an assistance fund to aid locals on strike in 1884.[40] Each local assembly forwarded monthly to the district assembly the sum of five cents per member; and each district assembly had control over the fund collected from the different locals; but the general executive board had the right to assess such district assembly fund for the support of any other assembly whose treasury had been depleted by strikes or lockouts.[41] A little later contribution to the assistance fund was made voluntary and at the present time any district or local assembly may create and have entire control of its own assistance fund.[42]

The defense fund of the American Federation established at the annual convention of 1901, is intended solely for the local unions directly affiliated with the American Federation. The fund is derived from a per capita tax of five cents per member per month, and in case of a strike is distributed as follows: to each member on strike, for a period of six weeks an amount equal to $4.00 per week. The executive council regulates any further payment of strike benefits.[43]

---

[39] Ibid., 1903, Art. IV, sec. 8.

[40] The constitution of 1878 made no reference to a fund for strike purposes, but provided for a "Resistance Fund" as follows: "Each Local Assembly shall set apart in a special investment each month, a sum equal to five cents each for every member upon the books, which fund shall accumulate and remain intact for the space of two years from January, 1878. After that time it will be held for use and distribution under such laws and regulations as the General Assembly may adopt"; see Proceedings, General Assembly, 1878, First Annual Session, p. 32.

[41] Constitution, General Assembly, 1884, Art. XV, secs. 1–5 and Proceedings, General Assembly, 1884, p. 756.

[42] Constitution, General Assembly, Knights of Labor, Art. VI, sec. 43.

[43] From February 1, 1903, to September 30, 1903, the total amount paid from the defense fund was $6,690; see Constitution, American Federation of Labor, Art. XIII, sec. 5.

The defense fund of the American Labor Union, on the other hand, is collected from the entire membership. As in force on February 1, 1904, provision is made for a payment of five cents per member per month to be used exclusively "for the purpose of conducting strikes and paying strike benefits when such strikes have been duly and legally approved by the general executive board."[44] Any local entering upon a strike authorized by the general executive board has the "central defense fund" to draw upon. This common interest in the national purse is intended to produce such unity of action as will shorten strikes. Since the larger industrial unions in the American Labor Union are as much interested in the defense fund as the locals directly affiliated, all members have a common concern in settling the matter speedily and stopping the drain on the central treasury. The strike pay given to members who have been on strike for seven consecutive days does not exceed $5.00 per week for strikers with families dependent upon them, and $3.00 for other strikers.[45]

(*f*) In the original platform of the Knights of Labor an eight-hour plank figured prominently: "The reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day, so that the laborers may have more time for social enjoyment and intellectual improvement, and be enabled to reap the advantages conferred by the labor-saving machinery which their brains have created."[46] In 1882 the platform of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, later the American Federation of Labor, declared: "The National Eight-Hour Law is one intended to benefit labor and relieve it partly of its burdens. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit of its designers."[47] A resolution of the third session, in 1883, stated that the Federation "considers

[44] Constitution, 1903, Art. IX, secs. 1 and 2.
[45] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 11.
[46] Constitution, General Assembly, 1878, Preamble.
[47] Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, Second Annual Session, 1882, p. 1.

the question of shortening the hours as paramount to all other questions at present"; and in the secretary's report to the convention of 1884, a plan to shorten the hours of labor was strongly urged. In consequence of this agitation, it was suggested that the unions be canvassed as to the desirability of a universal strike not later than May 1, 1886, at which time all branches should simultaneously demand an eight-hour day. Realizing that the Federation was weak in authority and in numerical strength, the officials asked the coöperation of the Knights of Labor.[48] The latter organization failed to support the movement, and the plan did not reach serious proportions.

The next attempt came in 1888, when a resolution passed the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor fixing May 1, 1890, as the day for a general strike, and arranging for preparatory mass-meetings to be held in various cities and towns.[49] Renewed efforts to form a temporary alliance with the Knights of Labor failed, but circulars and pamphlets were scattered widely, and prominent speakers were sent by the American Federation to different parts of the country to prepare trade union members for the proposed universal strike. Warned by the complete failure of previous general strikes, the more advanced leaders agreed that the struggle could be carried on more successfully if certain trades were selected to make the fight, supported by the combined strength of the other unions working through the Federation. Consequently, a series of individual trade strikes was determined upon, in which one trade after another would be selected to strike for shorter

[48] Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, Fourth Session, 1884, pp. 19–20, 31.

[49] At the eleventh regular session of the General Assembly, Knights of Labor, 1887, the report of the committee on the state of the order was adopted, as follows: "*Resolved,* that the General Master Workman confer with the heads of international and national labor organizations with a view to holding a convention to bring about the adoption of the eight-hour law by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor."

hours until all trades had obtained the eight-hour day.[50] In view of the present influence of the American Federation in the labor movement, it is probable that "the successive strike" will be the favored line of activity. At the twenty-fourth annual convention, for example, the American Federation indorsed the eight-hour movement of the International Typographical Union, and promised to levy the constitutional assessment on the membership if at any time after January 1, 1906, the Typographical Union needed further assistance.[51]

As a part of the general movement to improve conditions in the West, the American Labor Union has persistently urged the passage of an eight-hour law by the state legislatures.[52] Resolutions indorsing particular efforts of the various unions, and pledging the united support of the American Labor Union to all members on strike for shorter hours, have been adopted by the several national conventions.

(*g*) The political methods employed by trade organizations to remove social ills and to gain positive advantages may be roughly classified as, first, independent political action, and second, temporary alliances with existing political parties in order to obtain legislation favorable to labor. The national federations here considered have all recognized the advantages possessed by an alliance of trades over single trade unions in any political movement, and have shaped their respective policies accordingly. A sharp distinction arises, however, in the relative importance attached

[50] In the eight-hour strike of 1890, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was selected by the Federation to make the fight. A special assessment was levied and every effort made to win the strike, with the result that the Carpenters and Joiners established the eight-hour day in several large cities.

[51] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1904, pp. 180–181.

[52] The president reported to the convention of 1901, that the Montana legislature largely through the efforts of the Western Labor Union, the Western Federation of Miners, and other labor organizations, had passed an eight-hour law to apply to the miners, and to the mill and smeltermen of the state; see Proceedings, Western Labor Union, 1901, p. 16.

to each method by the different fed[illegible]r example, the Knights of Labor, as an org[illegible]nsciously designed for political activity, [illegible]an Federation holds the position t[illegible]ccomplished by leaving party r[illegible]tten-tion on labor legislation

The position of th[illegible] by the General Master[illegible]th session of the Ge[illegible]l parties degenerate[illegible] people are not educ[illegible] discern the differen[illegible] and we would not be[illegible] bad laws. The chief[illegible] educate not only men, [illegible] they may educate parties[illegible] honestly."[88] In accordanc[illegible] means to the larger end b[illegible] activity, materially aided, it[illegible] quality of the local assembly it[illegible] men of various callings and wi[illegible] Where men of a single craft ar[illegible].e sympathy and unity of interests, [illegible].sive political advance, are lacking. On [illegible]rgani-zation like the Knights of Labor, [illegible]a highly centralized type of federation and d[illegible]s the trade boundaries formerly observed, was well [illegible].ed to educate its members and promote a feeling of s[illegible].arity among all classes of workers.

At the second regular session of the General Assembly a resolution was adopted requiring each local assembly to devote not less than ten minutes nor more than one hour of each session thereof to the discussion of subjects bearing upon the labor question, such as convict labor, eight-hour day, child labor, how can the toiler receive a just share

[88] Proceedings, General Assembly, 1883, p. 401; see Pittsburg Times, July 16, 1883.

of the wealth he creates? etc.[54] The general executive board appointed lecturers from time to time who visited the assemblies and addressed them upon topics of interest to labor. In May, 1880, appeared the first number of the *Journal of United Labor,* primarily designed as a medium of communication between the branches of the Order, and as an unprejudiced herald of advanced views. Unable to maintain the independence of a non-partisan publication, it gradually grew more biased as the struggle with external forces became more bitter, until the original purpose of an educational organ almost wholly disappeared.

The Knights of Labor assembly, besides the advantages claimed for it over the strict trade union in the education of its members, possessed greater efficiency in any political movement. Trade unionists in their independent organiations were too weak in numbers to change the result of an election, whereas the members of the Knights of Labor, representing all classes and acting as a unit, practically controlled the issue.

With these advantages clearly understood, the belief that labor must carry its demands beyond the workshop, and crystallize definite reforms into statute laws, received greater attention than ever before. The constitution of 1879 (Art. 10, sec. 1) stated: "A district assembly or a local assembly under the General Assembly may take such political action as will tend to advance the interests of the Order or the cause of labor. But when political action is contemplated, the regular business of the district assembly or the local assembly shall be concluded, and the district assembly or local assembly regularly closed. (Sec. 2) Local assemblies may properly use their political power in all legislative elections, and it is left to the dictation of each local assembly to act with that party through which it can gain the most. An assembly shall not take political action unless three-fourths of the attending members are united in supporting

[54] Proceedings, General Assembly, Second Regular Session, 1897, pp. 74–75.

such action. No member, however, shall be compelled to vote with the majority."

From 1880 to 1885 the intense interest manifested in political affairs evoked a warning note from headquarters: "So surely as we run into politics shall we be disrupted." In many localities, the success achieved by the Knights of Labor in municipal elections had been so pronounced that the membership at large became ambitious to extend the activity to national affairs. A party in which all reformers could find a place appeared a fitting substitute for the two corrupt, boss-ridden political organizations. Hence, in 1890, a further step was planned by the leaders,[55] who succeeded a little later in stimulating a wave of enthusiasm for the National People's Party of 1892, with "land, transportation and finance" as the campaign cry.[56] Pledged in this manner to political action, the federation dissipated much of its energies in a vain effort to make industrial forces politically supreme, and in so doing, caused the internal dissensions which have so often attended the political affiliation of labor bodies.

Following the policy of the Knights of Labor, the American Labor Union has from the very beginning urged upon its branches independent participation in national, state and municipal elections. The convention of 1900, for example, declared that the only way to effect a permanent improvement in labor conditions is for the working man to vote for candidates and measures favorable to definite reforms, and emphasized the need of general education on all public questions for the more intelligent use of the ballot. The convention of 1901 decided, "It shall be the duty of all local unions of the Western Labor Union to look up the records of all nominees for public offices, national, state, or municipal, and give their full support to those who are working in our behalf, unless the unions have decided to put forth

[55] Journal of United Labor, Vol. X, Nos. 43–49.
[56] Ibid., Vol. XIII, No. 2.

an entire labor ticket."[57] Finally, in 1902, a more radical step was taken when a political platform was adopted by a vote of 56 to 13.[58] According to this resolution, the union is in favor of National Socialism and adopts the platform of the Socialist party of America in its entirety.

That the American Labor Union is a strong advocate of extreme socialistic views is clearly shown by the tenor of the leading articles which appear from time to time in its official journal.[59] The present attitude of the American Labor Union toward political activity has been briefly stated by the editor of the official journal in the following words: "The American Labor Union, where one man, one vote, is the rule, has twice gone on record in favor of united class conscious political action along the lines of the socialistic platform, as the only remedy for industrial ills. . . . But this action was entirely educational in character and no man forfeits his membership by a refusal to comply."[60]

The American Federation of Labor, on the contrary, has successfully resisted all attempts to engage the organization in political activity. Freedom from political affiliation has not been maintained without a struggle on the part of the more conservative element in the Federation. The first convention held in Pittsburg declared: "We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished."[61] At every convention of the American Federation, and at almost every meeting of local, state and national unions, the same question has arisen in some form or other. As long as the pressure upon the Federation to declare for independent action did not become annoying, a positive declaration of principles was withheld. But when

[57] Constitution, American Labor Union, 1901, p. 5.
[58] Proceedings, American Labor Union, 1902, pp. 57–61.
[59] American Labor Union Journal, October 30, 1902.
[60] Ibid., January 7, 1904.
[61] Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, First Annual Session, 1881, p. 4.

the Socialist Labor Party sought admission into the Federation of Labor, the application was rejected on the ground that no political party, as a party, has the right to be represented in the councils of trade unions. Subsequent efforts on the part of radical trade organizations became so persistent that the New York Convention of 1895 declared: "Party politics, whether they be Democratic, Republican, Socialistic, Populistic, Prohibition, or any other, shall have no place in the convention of the American Federation of Labor."[62] Succeeding attempts to commit the organization to a definite program have been defeated, so that at the present time the American Federation stands independent of party affiliations.[63]

The Knights of Labor, regarding legislative activity as incidental to the more direct policy of party political action, have nevertheless shown vigor in securing labor legislation. The central executive has confined most of its attention to Washington in order to watch congressional legislation,[64] while the district and state assemblies have used their influence in state and local legislatures.[65] Largely through

---

[62] Constitution, American Federation of Labor, 1896, Art. III, sec. 8.

[63] The most persistent attempts have been made by the socialistic element in the conventions of the American Federation. In 1894 and again in 1902, the sentiment with regard to independent political action was fairly divided; but in the conventions of 1895, 1900, 1903, and 1904, resolutions with party political activity as the end in view were decisively defeated.

[64] The Cleveland session of 1886, for instance, adopted a resolution instructing the General Master Workman to appoint a legislative committee of three with headquarters at Washington during the sessions of Congress.

[65] State assemblies seem never to have played a very important part in the Knights of Labor. The secretary-treasurer reported to the Tenth Annual Session held at Richmond in 1886, "Under the present law they (state assemblies) are a failure and are not thoroughly understood, some claiming to have jurisdiction over district assemblies, which is not the case. State assemblies to be of service to the Order should be organized in every state from representatives of the several district assemblies and local assemblies attached to the General Assembly, where all matters appertaining to the Order in the state should first be brought for settlement." The state assembly was designed apparently to relieve the duties of the gen-

these efforts, the Knights of Labor by successfully arousing public opinion on frequent occasions have made the subsequent task of the American Federation less difficult. Among the more important reforms proposed by the Knights have been: direct legislation, the initiative and referendum, a bureau of labor statistics, abolition of the contract system on national, state and municipal works, compulsory arbitration, prohibition of child labor under the age of fifteen, and government ownership of telegraphs, telephones, and railroads.

As the American Federation of Labor wields little authority over the national unions, and has no way to secure unity of sentiment on any political issue, the probable result of independent political action would be internal strife with danger of complete disruption. Accordingly, the Federation has chosen to advocate labor legislation and to take an active part in any move leading to the betterment of labor conditions rather than to participate as an organization in national and state elections. Each convention directs attention to special reforms, whereupon the executive council frames a bill embodying the necessary provisions, and champions its course. The legislative committee maintained at Washington is especially helpful in promoting this work. Among the chief reforms so advocated in recent years have been the national eight-hour law, Chinese exclusion, the initiative and referendum, trust legislation, anti-injunction laws, and the abolition of convict and imported contract labor. In addition to these efforts, the American Federation has sought to prevent legislation conceived harmful to the working classes in general, such as anti-scalping laws, compulsory arbitration, and compulsory trade union incorporation.

Analogous to the functions exercised at Washington by the national federation are the reform activities of state

---

eral executive board, to be in the state the official representative of the Order, and to take an active interest in state politics; see Proceedings, Tenth Regular Session, General Assembly, 1886, pp. 47–48.

and municipal alliances.[66] The more radical state and local federations conceive the ideal industrial state to involve "the abolition of the wage system and the substitution of collective ownership by the people of all the means of production and distribution." The socialistic element urges organized labor to take part as a unit in all state and local elections. The more conservative local bodies, following the example of the national federation, desire to exclude party politics from the meeting-rooms, and to control the labor vote in the interest of those candidates who pronounce themselves labor sympathizers. Thus far the prevalence of the more conservative sentiment accounts for the emphasis placed on labor legislation.

From 1886, the year of greatest prosperity, the Knights of Labor have steadily declined in membership and power.[67] The more important influences contributing to this result have been the complete failure of expensive sympathetic strikes, the activity displayed in political affairs, the presence of two distinct types of labor organizations in the Order,—the mixed district assembly and the national trade assembly, and finally, the extreme centralization of power in the hands of the General Assembly and the national officers. The American Labor Union, organized primarily as a federation of industrial unions, has run counter to the experiences of the past in its effort to make industrial forces politically supreme. Finally, in the activities of the American Federation are reflected something of that prudence and moderation which characterize the present industrial life of the East.[68] Contrary to the policies of the

[66] The president of the American Federation of Labor reported to the San Francisco convention of 1904, a membership of 32 state assemblies and 569 central labor unions.

[67] The Knights of Labor at the tenth regular session reported a membership of 702, 924 in good standing, July 1, 1886. The report of the general treasurer for July 1, 1886, to June 30, 1887, inclusive, showed total receipts of $497,656.08 and total disbursements of $491,683.91.

[68] The American Federation of Labor in January, 1905, had an enrollment of 118 national and international unions. The average membership of the affiliated unions for the year ending September

Knights of Labor and the American Labor Union, it has advocated the individual trade strike in preference to the general or sympathetic strike; it has repeatedly placed itself on record as opposed to political action; it has advanced the principle of organization according to trade; and, lastly, by guaranteeing to each national or international union complete jurisdiction over its own trade, has gained to a large extent the good will of the individual members.

30, 1904, was 1,676,000. The treasurer reported to the twenty-fourth annual convention, 1904, a total income of $307,009.09 with total expenditure of $203,991.15.

PART II.

TRADES COUNCILS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

Federations of related trades or "trades councils" appeared in the United States at a later period than general federations. The International Building Trades Council, organized in 1897, was probably the first successful attempt to federate, on a national scale, several district trades in a single organization.[1] More recently two other such national trades councils have been formed: The Metal Trades Federation, the constitution of which was adopted in January, 1903, and the Structural Building Trades Alliance, the first convention of which was held in August, 1904. In addition to the councils in the building trades and in the metal trades, printing trades councils exist in various places; but these organizations have remained local in character.[2] Attention will accordingly be confined largely to these three

[1] Prior to the convention of 1904, the organization was known as "The National Building Trades Council."

[2] More similar to the national trades council, however, is the Joint Conference Board established by the several national unions in the printing trades. This Board is composed of four representatives from the International Typographical Union, one representative from the International Printing Pressmen and Assistants' Union, one representative from the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders, one representative from the International Stereotypers' and Electrotypers' Union, and one representative from the International Photo-Engravers' Union. The officers of the Board are: a president, a vice-president, a secretary-treasurer, and such other officers as the Board may determine, with the qualification that no two executive officers represent one organization. The most recent meeting of the Board was held on January 13 and 14, 1905, in Indianapolis, Indiana; see The International Bookbinder, March, 1905.

organizations: (1) the International Building Trades Council; (2) the Metal Trades Federation, and (3) the Structural Building Trades Alliance.

As early as 1881 a plan to amalgamate local and national trade unions in the iron industry, the printing industry, etc., was proposed at the first annual convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions. The scheme had already received the unanimous approval of the "Representative Assembly of Trades and Labor Unions of the Pacific Coast." A similar suggestion appeared in the president's report to the American Federation of Labor in 1888.[3] The plan provided that each industry should have a representative on the executive council of the Federation of Labor.[4] Although this project did not meet with popular favor at the time, the community of interests in the building trades prompted the formation of building trades sections or building trades councils in various cities. In some places these councils worked in harmony with the local federation as part of the central labor union. In other places, either the city federation made no provision for allied trades sections, or the trades councils preferred to remain independent. Where the central labor union and the trades council were entirely disconnected, disputes frequently arose over the respective jurisdictional claims of the two bodies.

The national federation of these local councils was the result of a corresponding development in the building industry itself. The rise of large contractors who extended their activities to many important cities, changed the conditions in the industry. As long as building operations were carried on by home contractors, local building trades councils answered the purpose. But many workmen in the building industry no longer depended exclusively on their

[3] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1888, p. 18.

[4] The adoption of this plan would also have secured the autonomy of each trade and industrial division, and would have removed one objection often made to the present government of the American Federation,—the non-representative character of the executive council.

home city for a livelihood, but found it necessary to travel from place to place. Similarly, men working in different cities at the same time were often employed by the same large contractor. To meet these new conditions and to cope more successfully with building trade problems, a national affiliation of trade councils was proposed.

In the early part of 1897 the building trades council of St. Louis, which for some years had been instrumental in preventing trade strikes and promoting a more friendly feeling between employer and employee, through its secretary, Mr. H. W. Steinbiss, declared itself in favor of extending this activity by the formation of a national council to be composed of the various local trades councils. The Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers' International Union was the first to indorse the new movement, and elected two delegates to represent the union at the proposed convention. Owing to unfavorable industrial conditions, however, the matter was postponed until October 20, 1897, when a call was issued for a convention of the various trades councils, to be held in St. Louis on December 20, 1897. Representation in the convention was to be upon the following basis: each building trades council to be entitled to one delegate for each trade represented in the council, and to one vote for each affiliated trade, regardless of the number of its delegates attending the convention.

In response to the call, twenty-eight delegates assembled and formed the National Building Trades Council of America, with headquarters at St. Louis. Among the organizations represented at the first convention were the building trades councils of Chicago, Ill.; St. Louis, Mo.; Washington, D. C.; Pittsburg, Pa.; Milwaukee, Wis.; Toledo, Ohio; Kansas City, Mo., and East St. Louis, Ill. Other councils sent letters to the convention promising affiliation.[5]

[5] Weekly Compendium Building Trades Council of St. Louis and Vicinity, Aug. 29, 1897. The call sent out by the St. Louis Trades

The secretary at the second annual convention, in 1899, reported a membership of fourteen organizations, and at the third annual convention a membership of three national organizations,—the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters and Helpers, National Brotherhood of Electrical Workers of America,—seventeen building trades councils, and six local unions.[6] Finally, at the sixth annual convention in 1903 the membership was reported as consisting of seven national and international unions, seventy-six building trades councils and nineteen local unions, an increase of fifty-four organizations during the year.[7] At the present time (January, 1905) the International Building Trades Council comprises nine national and international unions, twenty-eight building trades councils and five local unions.[8]

Partly to counteract the influence of the Building Trades Council, the American Federation of Labor at the convention of 1900 decided "to provide for the formation of a permanent organization to be known as a General Section

---

Council made no provision for the recognition of international unions, consequently the Sheet Metal Workers who had already elected delegates did not forward any credentials, and did not affiliate until October 2, 1900. The first international trade union admitted was the Brotherhood of Painters and Decorators of America, which received its charter from the National Building Trades Council on February 1, 1898. The Painters and Decorators, however, were represented at the first convention by their former president, who was seated as a regular delegate by a vote of the convention.

[6] Proceedings, National Building Trades Council, Third Annual Convention, 1900, pp. 11–12.

[7] Ibid., Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, pp. 10–11.

[8] The international unions are: Amalgamated Sheet Metal Workers; American Brotherhood of Cement Workers; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; International Brotherhood of Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers; International Slate and Tile Roofers' Union; International Association of Steam, Hot Water and Power Pipe Fitters and Helpers; National Association of Heat, Frost and General Insulators and Asbestos Workers; Stone Masons' International Union; International Laborers' Union. The chief local councils are those of Denver, Milwaukee, and St. Louis, while the councils of many other large cities are unaffiliated at the present time; see The Labor Compendium, January, 1905, pp. 10–11.

of the Building Trades."[9] All disputes and grievances arising between national and local unions of the building trades were to be referred to this organization for settlement.[10] Again in 1902 the Federation of Labor declared: "We hold that the interests of the trade union movement will be promoted by closely allied and sub-divided crafts giving consideration to amalgamation and to the organization of district and national trade councils to which shall be referred questions in dispute and which shall be adjusted within allied crafts' lines."[11]

Although the International Building Trades Council from time to time expressed a desire to establish such relations with the American Federation as now exist in many places between central labor unions and local trades councils, the American Federation has been unwilling to accept this arrangement, since it regards the Building Trades Council as a dual organization inimical to the general federation. On the other hand, the International Building Trades Council has resented the hostile attitude of the Federation and urged "that in the future the International Building Trades Council and local councils be more aggressive and resist to the utmost the encroachments being made by the American Federation of Labor."[12]

In 1900 representatives of the various metal trades held meetings for the purpose of forming a national federation. In December a temporary organization with James Creamer of the International Association of Machinists as president,

[9] The president of the American Federation in his annual report for 1900 declared: "The error into which the building trades councils have fallen is that they have failed to ally themselves with the American Federation of Labor; and having formed themselves on a national basis, not only hold themselves aloof, but in many instances have proven antagonistic to the very purposes of the American Federation of Labor" (Report of Proceedings, 1900, p. 9); see also Report of Proceedings, Sixth Annual Convention, National Building Trades Council, 1903, p. 12.

[10] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 211.

[11] Ibid., 1902, p. 143.

[12] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, 1902, p. 100.

and L. R. Thomas of the Patternmakers' League, as secretary, was effected, and the following resolution adopted:

WHEREAS, At a meeting of the representatives of the Machinists, Iron Molders, Pattern Makers, Metal Polishers, Buffers, Platers and Brass Workers, Blacksmiths, Boiler Makers, Ship Builders, Allied Metal Mechanics, Core Makers, and Electrical Workers in attendance upon the Twentieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, there developed a unanimous sentiment in favor of the formation of a Metal Trades Federation; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the above organizations be requested to send two representatives, fully instructed how to perfect and render practicable said Metal Trades Federation to a convention to be held in St. Louis at such time, in July, 1901, as may be mutually agreed upon.[13]

The following year further conferences were held with a view to permanent organization, and finally in January, 1903, a constitution and by-laws were adopted.[14]

The objects of the Association as stated in its declaration of principles were: "To foster a feeling of friendship between the organizations engaged in the metal trades industry and its kindred branches; to discuss ways and means for bettering the condition and advancing the interest of the organizations connected with this body; to stimulate the individual membership of the different organizations to an active interest in each other, . . . to promote the settlement of disputes by arbitration, thereby discouraging strikes."[15]

In June, 1903, eight national unions and forty-eight metal trades councils or metal trades sections in as many cities were affiliated with the Federation.[16] In his report for the year ending July 1, 1904, the president of the International Association of Machinists said: "The Metal Trades Federation of North America maintains an office and a secretary at Washington, D. C. Several national metal trades organizations as yet have not seen their way clear to affiliate with

[13] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 169.
[14] Ibid., 1901, p. 18.
[15] Constitution, Metal Trades Federation, 1903, Art. I, sec. 2.
[16] Circular issued from international headquarters, Washington, D. C., and signed by James O'Connell, president, and E. J. Lynch, secretary-treasurer.

the Metal Trades Federation of North America. I regret this exceedingly, for I have personally devoted a great amount of my time trying to bring about a closer affiliation between the national metal trades organizations. The national organizations not affiliated are the Iron Molders' Union, Brotherhood of Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders, and the Pattern Makers' League."[17]

On August 26, 1903, a conference of representatives of structural building trades was held in Indianapolis, Ind., at the headquarters of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. It was decided to establish a national alliance and, as a preliminary step, to issue a call to all structural building trades for a general convention to be held in Indianapolis on October 8, 1903. The call was signed by the officers of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers; Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union; International Association of Journeymen Plumbers, Gas and Steam Fitters and Steam Fitters' Helpers; Hod Carriers' and Building Laborers' International Union; Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; and Bridge and Structural Iron Workers' International Association.

The conference, after a three days' session, adopted a tentative constitution together with the following resolution:

WHEREAS, Ever since the formal conference of the Structural Building Trades, held in this city (Indianapolis) August 26, 1903, representatives of organized labor outside of the building trades have claimed and openly expressed their opinion that this body was being formed in opposition and antagonistic to the American Federation of Labor, and the National Building Trades Council. . . .

Resolved, That this Convention go on record and thereby give an expression of their friendship toward the American Federation of Labor and the National Building Trades Council, and will give any assistance we possibly can to either body, etc.[18]

---

[17] Machinists' Monthly Journal, September, 1904, p. 789.
[18] The Carpenter, November, 1903, p. 3.

The constitution and by-laws were submitted to a referendum vote of the unions represented, and all voted to affiliate with the exception of the Bricklayers' and Masons' Union and the Electrical Workers. Accordingly, in August, 1904, the first annual convention of the Structural Building Trades Alliance assembled in Indianapolis and elected officers.[19]

The aims of the alliance were declared to be: To establish local and international boards of arbitration, to give international sympathetic support where local boards fail in their efforts to adjust difficulties, to uphold trade autonomy, to maintain agreements, to avoid and discourage strikes if possible, to oppose the formation of dual and rival bodies, to encourage and maintain friendly relations with existing central organizations.[20] At the present time (January, 1905) six international organizations are affiliated with the alliance, and four others have been declared eligible to membership, viz., the Bricklayers and Masons, Operative Plasterers, Electrical Workers, and Sheet Metal Workers.[21]

Aside from the foregoing federations of related trades, the railway brotherhoods have formed alliances from time to time, which have been short-lived. On June 6, 1889, the grand officers of three orders of railway employees met at Chicago and formed "The Supreme Council of the United Orders of Railway Employees." The following year the Supreme Council, including representatives of the Locomotive Firemen, the Railroad Brakemen, the Switchmen's Mutual Aid Association and the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors met in Chicago. At the next session, 1891, the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen was expelled from the Supreme Council, and finally, on June 20, 1892, at the fourth annual meeting, the Council disbanded.

[19] Indianapolis News, August 12, 1904; also Painters' Journal, Sept., 1904, Vol. XVIII, No. 9.
[20] Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1904, Preamble.
[21] The Carpenter, March, 1905, pp. 5–6.

A meeting of representatives from the various railway brotherhoods, held at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, April 6, 1893, resulted in the adoption of the so-called Cedar Rapids plan. The articles of federation provided for the formation of general grievance committees representing the different brotherhoods, to whom should be submitted for adjustment all questions in dispute. Should a strike be inaugurated, the chief executive immediately concerned became the recognized leader, and had power to declare the strike off with the consent of the general federated committee. Subsequent attempts to form a closer alliance among the railroad brotherhoods have met with little permanent success. The Federation of American Railway Employees, organized in April, 1898, at first gave promise of an important career, but soon fell apart, and by 1900 had ceased to exist.[22]

[22] Locomotive Firemen's Magazine, July, 1889, p. 627; Aug., 1890, p. 708; Aug., 1892, p. 733; June, 1893, p. 511.

CHAPTER II.

STRUCTURE.

The International Building Trades Council, while similar in some respects to the Metal Trades Federation and the Structural Building Trades Alliance, differs from them in one important particular. The first is primarily an alliance of local building trades councils, whereas the Metal Trades Federation and the Structural Building Trades Alliance are primarily federations of national trade unions. The preamble to the constitution of the International Building Trades Council declares that local trades councils are the "most fruitful means presented to improve the condition of the men engaged in the building industry."[1] National trade unions, however, are recognized in the following section of the constitution: "This organization . . . shall be composed of Building Trades Councils, National Building Trades Unions and Local Unions of Building Trades who have no national organization."[2]

The Metal Trades Federation has jurisdiction over local trades councils wherever organized.[3] Metal trades sections or councils are formed from neighboring locals, and are free to govern themselves as long as their laws accord with the general constitution of the national federation.[4] The Structural Building Trades Alliance is "composed only of national and international unions of structural building tradesmen," although it encourages the formation of "local alliances of building tradesmen" which have no representation in the annual meeting of the alliance.[5]

[1] Constitution, National Building Trades Council, 1903, Preamble.
[2] Ibid., Art. I, sec. 1.
[3] Constitution, Metal Trades Federation, 1903, Art. I, sec. 3; Art. II, sec. 1.
[4] Ibid., Art. XXIII.
[5] Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1904, Art. I, sec. 1; Art. II, sec. 1.

Thus two distinct forms of labor organizations make up the national trades council,—the national trade union and the local trades council. As all national councils recognize the local council, some description of the local trades council or section is necessary before the working of the national council may be properly understood.[6]

Qualifications for membership in the local allied trades councils vary in different places, but usually include a general provision that delegates must be chosen from bona fide trade organizations whose members are engaged in one of the allied trades. Any union, for example, desiring affiliation with a local building trades council affiliated with the International Council must present an application in this form:

To the Officers and Members of the Building Trades Council: The above-named organization having thoroughly considered your objects and laws respectfully petition for affiliation with your honorable body. Nothing in our constitution, by-laws, or working rules conflicts with those of your council, and if admitted we will cheerfully comply with and abide by your laws and regulations. Our initiation fee is $. . . We have a total membership of . . . We work . . . hours a day and our wage is . . . cents per hour, . . . cents per hour for overtime and night work, and . . . cents per hour for Sundays and holidays. (No member will be allowed to work on Labor Day—the first Monday in September.)

Accompanying the application, which is at once submitted to the executive board, is a definite statement of the jurisdiction claimed by the union, together with a copy of its trade rules. If the executive board finds that the union represents a bona fide building trade and does not conflict with the jurisdiction or trade rules of any other union in the council, it reports favorably on the application. A majority vote of all delegates at a meeting of the council decides the question of admission.

[6] A distinction between trades councils and trades sections may be noted. The building trades council is independent usually of any other local body, and may affiliate directly with the national council. A trades section is formed from trades in a central labor union and has an indirect connection with the American Federation of Labor.

Representation in the local council is usually left to local determination. Thus, the general constitution of the local building trades councils affiliated with the International Council does not regulate the number of delegates to the local council, but provides that when a vote is taken on any proposition each delegate present is entitled to cast his ballot as an individual, except in cases where a "trade" vote is necessary, when each trade votes as a unit.[7] Among the building trades councils unaffiliated with the International Building Trades Council various systems of representation prevail. The Chicago Building Trades Council, founded in 1890, and incorporated under the laws of Illinois in 1892, provides for representation of the affiliated unions upon the following basis: For each union of one hundred members or less, five delegates; for each additional one hundred up to and including five hundred members, an additional delegate; for every two hundred and fifty over five hundred members up to and including one thousand, another delegate, etc. No union, however, has the right to send to the Council more than twenty delegates.[8]

Some councils, on the other hand, favor a system of representation which does not take into account the membership of the unions, but gives each union the same number of representatives. The constitution of the building trades council of Cleveland and vicinity, for example, declares: "This organization shall consist of three delegates from all trade organizations connected with the erection, finishing or embellishment of buildings."[9]

---

[7] If the trade delegation is divided, the members are polled, and their number for and against is counted as a fraction of one vote for and against the question before the council; see Constitution, Local Building Trades Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades Council of America, 1902, Art. II, sec. 1 and 3.

[8] George: The Chicago Building Trades Conflict of 1900. Quarterly Journal of Economics, 1900, p. 349.

[9] Constitution, Building Trades Council of Cleveland and Vicinity, 1900, Art. I, sec. 1; see also, Constitution, Building Trades Council of Detroit, 1900, Art. VII, sec. 4. According to the agreement among the five international unions in the printing trades, allied printing trades councils are composed of three delegates from each local

The elective officers of local trades councils are commonly a president, vice-president, corresponding or recording secretary, financial secretary, treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, and a board of at least three trustees. In addition to these officials, the general constitution for local building trades councils provides for an executive board of five members, an organization committee of three members, and a law and legislative committee of at least three members.[10] Officers entering upon their duties are required to take an obligation as to faithful performance of duty.

The most important single official of local councils is the president. He presides over all meetings, except when questions relating to his own trade are considered, and exercises general supervision over the officers and committees.[11] The executive board considers grievances of the trades represented, and endeavors to settle differences between employer and employee without resort to a strike. The board is sometimes given power to call meetings of the council.[12] In some councils a special committee on grievances is ap-

union chartered by one of the parties to the agreement. A further provision entitles each delegate at a council meeting, who ordinarily has but one vote, to cast additional votes, based on membership of the local unions, whenever a roll-call is demanded on the question of raising revenue or electing officers. The additional votes are allowed in the following manner: for fifty members of the local represented, one vote; for each additional fifty members or major fraction thereof, up to three hundred, one vote; for the next two hundred or major fraction thereof, one vote, etc.; see The International Bookbinder, March, 1905.

[10] General Constitution, Local Building Trades Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades Councils, 1902, Art. III, sec. 1.

[11] The other local officials are, commonly, a vice-president, a secretary, a treasurer, and a sergeant-at-arms.

[12] The local board of governors in the Structural Building Trades Alliance is composed of one member from each national and international union affiliated, who is appointed by his union to act temporarily as its representative in a particular locality. When the local alliance has been firmly established, the local union of each trade represented therein may elect their own representative upon the local board of governors. This differentiates the board of governors in the Trades Alliance from the executive board of most building trades councils whose members are chosen by majority vote of the delegates attending an election; see Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1905, Art. IX, sec. 2.

pointed to investigate any case submitted to it, and, when requested, uses its influence to adjust the trouble.[13] Other standing committees that figure largely in the activities of trades councils are: (1) the committee on organization, to assist in the organization of new unions, and (2) the legislative committee "to secure the adoption by legislative bodies of such legislation as shall seem best for the interests of the laboring people."[14]

Finally, the board of business agents is in some respects the most important body in the local council. It is composed of representatives from the different trades, who meet several times a week for the purpose of considering questions of general interest to the industry.[15] The chief work of this board is the supervision of trade rules and the working card, and the adjustment of trade grievances. If trouble occurs in any shop, or on any job, the business agent of the trade endeavors to adjust the difficulty without delay. Failing in this, he presents the grievance to the board of business agents which in turn submits the whole question to the local trade council for final decision.[16]

The annual convention is the chief organ of government in national trades councils. Two distinct systems of representation are in use. In the International Building Trades Council representation is based primarily on local building trades councils. Each local council is entitled to one delegate for each trade represented.[17] Prior to the annual convention of 1904, each local council was entitled to one vote

[13] Constitution, Building Trades Council of Cleveland, O., 1900, Art. VII, sec. 3.

[14] General Constitution, Local Building Trades Councils, 1902, Art. V, sec. 10.

[15] These members are usually salaried and devote all or a great part of their time to trade affairs.

[16] See, for example, Constitution, Building Material Trades Council of Chicago and Cook Co., 1901, Art. XI, secs. 1–4. This local federation of related trades is not connected with either the building or metal trades alliance. Its constitution declares: "No trades engaged in the erection or alteration of buildings shall be eligible to this council."

[17] Constitution, National Building Trades Council, 1903, Art. IV, secs. 1 and 3.

for each trade in the council, regardless of the number of delegates in the convention. In that year, however, an amendment to the constitution declared: "No delegate, either from a local union or council, will be entitled to more than one vote. No proxy vote will be allowed, except in the case of the general secretary-treasurer, who, if not returned as a delegate, shall be allowed one proxy."[18] International unions until 1905 were allowed only one vote.[19] The eighth annual convention held in September, 1905, amended the constitution so that in future each national or international union will be allowed three delegates for one thousand members or less and an additional delegate for each five thousand members or major fraction thereof. This partly removes a principal objection of the national unions to the structure of the council.[20]

The system just described is materially different from the one adopted by the Metal Trades Federation and the Structural Building Trades Alliance. Both of these make the national union the basis of representation, and in the Alliance, instead of representation being given the local alliances, five delegates are sent from each national or international organization.[21] Finally, it may be noted that each of these systems of representation differs from that of the American Federation of Labor, which gives a proportional voting strength to its national and international unions, and one vote to each central labor union, without regard to the number of trades represented therein.

The power of the national organization over the local branches is less perhaps in the allied trades federation than

[18] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, Seventh Annual Convention, in The Labor Compendium, Sept. 25, 1904.

[19] Constitution, International Building Trades Council, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 3.

[20] Ibid., 1905, Art. IV, sec. 1.

[21] Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1904, Art. III, sec. 2. On the other hand, the Metal Trades Federation provides (Constitution, 1904, Art. IV, sec. 1): "A quorum for the transaction of business at the annual or extraordinary session shall be representatives from five national or international unions, and one delegate from each affiliated council."

in the general federation and much inferior to that of the industrial union. It cannot modify trade regulations unless one council interferes with another council, or one trade with another trade, in which case the federation undertakes to adjust the difficulty. The International Building Trades Council is strongly in favor of trade autonomy, as is shown by the following resolution adopted at the sixth annual convention:

> WHEREAS, Experience has shown that trade autonomy is best suited to advance the cause of organized labor and any departure from this course is likely to lead to ruin and disaster, as was clearly shown in the Knights of Labor, the American Labor Union and other organizations that favored the industrial idea of organization, therefore, be it
>
> *Resolved,* By the National Building Trades Council, . . . that it hereby declares itself in favor of and committed to strict trade autonomy and recognizes . . . the rights of any or each trade to their own separate and distinct organization without interference or hindrance from any other organization.

The judicial and administrative powers of the national council are delegated to a general executive board. In the International Building Trades Council this board is composed of the president and the seven vice-presidents;[22] in the Structural Building Trades Alliance and the Metal Trades Federation the board comprises the executive officer of each affiliated national and international union.[23]

The allied trades council represents an intermediate form of organization between a general trades federation like the American Federation of Labor on the one side and an industrial union like the United Mine Workers on the other. The general federation vests little authority, comparatively speaking, in the hands of the executive board, while the industrial union gives large power to its national officials. The problem in the administration of the trades council has

[22] Previous to the convention of 1904, the secretary-treasurer was perhaps the most important member of the general executive board.

[23] In the Structural Building Trades Alliance this board is known as the board of governors, and in the Metal Trades Federation as the executive committee.

thus been to grant sufficient power to the central executive for the efficient performance of duties, and at the same time to maintain the complete autonomy of the constituent elements.[24]

Next in importance to the national convention and the executive council in allied trades federations is the president. His duties do not differ to any large extent from those ordinarily attached to the office. He presides at all conventions, exercises general supervision over the federation, and signs all official documents. In the International Building Trades Council he decides all points of law not clearly defined by the constitution, and with the consent of the general executive board issues all charters to affiliated organizations. In the Metal Trades Federation, the president and the secretary-treasurer, "with the executive council and the different national and international officers of affiliated bodies," are the general organizers.[25]

The immediate check on the president and the secretary-treasurer is the executive board.[26] Behind the executive board and exerting a conservative influence over its members, as well as over the other elective officials, is the general convention. Any failure on the part of a national officer therefore to satisfy the representatives of the different organizations is likely to result in his defeat at a succeeding election.

The revenues for the support of national allied trades councils are derived mainly from regular monthly or quarterly assessments on the membership. The International Building Trades Council levies on local councils of five hundred members or less a tax of fifteen dollars each quarter; on councils with a membership of more than five hundred and less than one thousand, a tax of twenty-five dollars per

[24] Constitution, National Building Trades Council, 1903, Art. X, sec. 1.

[25] Constitution, Metal Trades Federation, 1904, Art. XI, sec. 1.

[26] See, for example, the Constitution of the International Building Trades Council, 1904, Art. VII, secs. 1, 3.

quarter,[27] and on councils of more than one thousand members, twenty-five dollars for the first thousand and two and one-half dollars for each additional five hundred members. The Structural Building Trades Alliance imposes a per capita tax of one-quarter of one cent per member per month upon the affiliated national and international unions.[28] Finally, the Metal Trades Federation meets its expenses by an assessment of twenty-five dollars per month on each of the national organizations in the alliance. In addition to these assessments, the International Building Trades Council receives a monthly per capita tax of one-fourth cent per member from each affiliated national or international union;[29] and the Metal Trades Federation a monthly payment of five dollars from each local metal trades section, to be used exclusively for organizing purposes. Other sources of revenue to the councils are charter fees, initiation fees, charges for supplies, etc.

---

[27] Local unions with neither national union nor local trades council affiliation pay a per capita tax of five cents per member per month. Prior to the Convention of 1905, each local council paid a per capita tax of three-quarters of a cent per month for each member of affiliated unions.

[28] Should the funds of the alliance at any time be insufficient to meet its expenses, the board of governors are directed to instruct the executive boards of affiliated nationals to levy an assessment sufficient to supply the treasury with the necessary amount.

[29] Prior to the convention of 1905, the International Council received $10 per capita each year from the national unions.

CHAPTER III.

FUNCTIONS.

Aside from the more general activities involved in the closer association of trades in a single industry, allied trades councils seek to perform three important functions: (*a*) the settlement of jurisdictional disputes, (*b*) the association of allied trades in securing more favorable conditions of work, particularly (*c*) through the more extended use of the sympathetic strike.[1] Some brief attention will be paid to each of these functions.

(*a*) Under the administrative system of the American Federation of Labor the executive officers are largely responsible for the execution of the trade policies agreed upon at the annual convention. In 1904 these officials represented the following groups of unionists: Cigarmakers, granite cutters, miners, machinists, clerks, wood workers, glass bottle blowers, tailors, plumbers, longshoremen and printers. The non-representative character of the executive council, so far as the building trades were concerned, was one of the prime reasons for the establishment of an independent national council with an executive board composed entirely of men familiar with building trades problems.[2]

The officials of the American Federation have strongly opposed this independent activity of the International Build-

[1] A fourth element entering prominently into the activities of printing trades councils is the more effective use of the union label; see p. 104.

[2] Labor Compendium, May 12, 1901. This objection to the American Federation would be partly if not completely overcome by the formation of national industrial alliances within the Federation of Labor. At the present time one national federation of allied trades has been formed under the American Federation of Labor and similar alliances are contemplated. The Metal Trades Federation of America, as its constitution declares, "is composed of those organizations whose members are connected with each other through the metal industry or such kindred organizations."

ing Trades Council. In his report to the convention of 1901, the president declared: "There never yet existed two organizations claiming jurisdiction over the same territory, endeavoring to administer to its welfare, without rivalry and conflict arising therefrom. There is nothing for which a National Building Trades Council (or any other independent council) can declare which has not been more effectually emphasized and more clearly achieved by the American Federation of Labor. . . . When questions arise concerning building trades exclusively, beyond doubt the building trades unions should have unrestricted and undisputed jurisdiction. But when the interest and welfare of all the workers of a particular locality are involved, the decision of all the organized workers in the central labor unions, trade assemblies, etc., should have the determining voice."[3]

The foregoing statement sets forth the defects of an independent allied trades council and at the same time suggests a remedy. A federation like the International Building Trades Council standing alone is out of touch with organized labor in general, while the same federation, composed of local building trades sections and affiliated with a general alliance like the American Federation keeps in touch with the larger movement, and at the same time retains the most important advantage of an allied trades federation, that is to say, power to settle questions peculiar to the particular industry.

The claim has often been advanced by the International Building Trades Council, in answer to the attacks of the American Federation, that it is not a dual organization, since its field of work is narrower and more clearly defined. This position seems tenable in the absence of a national building trades alliance in the American Federation corresponding, for example, to the Metal Trades Federation. Such a position, however, cannot be successfully maintained

[3] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1901, pp. 17–18.

by the Structural Building Trades Alliance, notwithstanding the friendly attitude thus far assumed. The reasons given for bringing into existence a rival organization in the building trades, viz., the inability of the American Federation and the International Council to render necessary assistance to the mechanics in the building trades, and more especially their failure to settle jurisdictional disputes—were partly answered in a circular letter sent in 1904 to local unions of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the chief promoters of the new alliance.[4] The letter made an unsuccessful appeal to these local unions to reconsider the vote which affiliated the Carpenters and Joiners with the recently formed alliance: "If it is the honest intention of the promoters of the Structural Building Trades Alliance to improve the condition of the building trades . . . would it not be more reasonable to join the National Building Trades Council, . . . and if improvements are needed in its laws or in its management it certainly can be and should be done at the annual convention."

One of the longest and most important jurisdictional struggles occurred between the Carpenters and Joiners and the Amalgamated Wood Workers. The Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America was formed in 1881. The "joiner," known as the cabinet maker, planing mill or bench hand, performs the more delicate parts of the work. A jurisdictional decision rendered after the rival union had grown to some importance gave control over the joiners to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' Union, organized in 1896. The Carpenters and Joiners refused to accept the decision and prepared to resist any encroachment on the part of the Wood Workers. In 1902, the situation becom-

[4] The Carpenter, November, 1903, pp. 3–4. The American Federation of Labor has declared: "The A. F. of L. shall hereafter refuse to decide questions of jurisdiction involving national or international affiliated bodies, unless by consent of the opposing interests and with the understanding that each is willing to accept the decision of the A. F. of L. as a final settlement of the dispute." Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 184.

ing critical, the executive council of the American Federation decided that control over "cabinet makers, machine hands, and factory wood workers" belonged to the Amalgamated Wood Workers' International Union. The Carpenters and Joiners replied by declaring the Wood Workers a "scab" organization and practically established a boycott on their union card and union label.

Persistent attempts to settle jurisdictional disputes have been made by the building trades organizations, partly because their members have suffered most keenly from such conflicts, and partly because the existence of trades councils have made it possible to handle the problems more readily. To prevent as far as possible the recurrence of internal strife, the plan requiring the submission of a jurisdictional statement has been most commonly adopted. Each organization affiliated or desiring affiliation with a local building trades council is required to make a statement describing the work done by its members. This statement is read before successive meetings of the council and opportunity is given the delegates to raise objections. If the work claimed by a union seeking admission is also claimed by any union in the council, and the respective boundaries cannot be satisfactorily adjusted, the application for a charter is rejected.[5]

The International Building Trades Council in 1902, for instance, excluded the Amalgamated Wood Workers from membership on these very grounds. The furniture shops and factories of the country had formerly manufactured only household and office furniture. Later the trade extended to planing mills whose output consists of office and store fronts, fixtures, trimmings, etc. This activity brought the Amalgamated Wood Workers in direct competition with the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners who claimed jurisdiction over this class of work. Consequently,

[5] Constitution, International Building Trades Council, 1903, Art. IV, secs. 7–8; also Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1905, Art. V, sec. 1.

at the convention of 1902, the Council declared: "We regard the actions and attitude of the Amalgamated Wood Workers as antagonistic to the best interests of the various trades connected with the National Building Trades Council; therefore, the Amalgamated Wood Workers are denied admission to the National Council until such time as they are able to secure the same compensation and improved conditions as are being enjoyed by the other trades with whom they come in competition."

Another instance of this policy occurred in 1902, when the National Union of Elevator Constructors sought admission into the International Council. The rapid developments in the building industry during the past few years had brought into existence workmen who confined themselves to the construction of elevators. The engineers, the electrical workers, and the elevator constructors all claimed some part of the work. Consequently, when the National Association of Steam and Hot Water Fitters, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and the International Union of Steam Engineers all opposed the application of the Elevator Constructors for membership, the general executive board of the council decided to withhold a charter until the Elevator Constructors had satisfactorily settled the claims of the opposing unions.[6]

A second method of lessening the difficulties arising from jurisdictional disputes is by arbitration. Local constitutions frequently declare that all differences between trades engaged in constructing or repairing a building must be adjusted off the work, and in no event may the dispute involve an employer who has no interest in the matter.[7] When all efforts to settle a grievance have been made by the local authorities, the question is submitted to the general executive board. The decision of this board stands until the

[6] Proceedings, National Building Trades Council, Fifth Annual Convention, 1902, pp. 93–94; Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, p. 25.

[7] Constitution, Local Building Trades Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades Council, 1902, Art. VII, sec. 1.

annual convention which determines whether the action shall be final or not.

A recent development in the direction of greater centralization as a possible solution of the problem appears in the Structural Building Trades Alliance. This organization has established a representative board of governors with authority to adjudicate trade disputes. Any affiliated union with a grievance against another member of the council first refers the matter to the local committee, and if the dispute is not there settled, the union carries the grievance to the national board of governors which decides "all questions of trade disputes and jurisdiction."

(*b*) The national trades council is active in improving general working conditions in the trades represented in the industry by the formation of trade agreements between employers and employees. According to the testimony of a prominent labor official before the Industrial Commission, the main purpose of the International Council is to form local and national agreements between the employer and employee in order to avoid strikes and lockouts in so far as possible.[8]

From the standpoint of the employer, agreements serve a useful purpose in giving stability to the labor supply. But the parties to an agreement may be a single manufacturer and a strong combination of labor, in which case the employer is placed at a serious disadvantage in bargaining. Furthermore, in many localities competition among employers, building employers in particular, is so keen that one contractor in order to gain a temporary advantage, will make special concessions to the trade unions. To prevent this inequality in bargaining power, employers' associations have been formed. Where the agreements are thus made between contractors' associations and trade unions, more

[8] Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XIV, p. 22. Owing to the practical difficulties in the way a national agreement with employers has never been made by the International Council, although conferences have been held with the secretary of the National Association of Builders with that end in view.

favorable terms to the employers may confidently be expected. For instance, the associations insist at times on a provision in their agreement which forbids a union man working for any one who is not a member of the contractors' association. Where, as frequently happens, the association embraces only a portion of the contractors in a single community, those who are not members are compelled to employ non-union men. The Bricklayers' and Masons' Union of St. Louis formed an agreement with the contractors of that city, stipulating that no member of the union should work for anyone not a member of the employers' association. A stone mason contractor engaged in general building operations was excluded from membership in the Master Bricklayers' Association by a law declaring ineligible any one not a practical bricklayer. Although the stone mason contractor favored union labor, and wished to join the Association, he had to employ non-union men as all union bricklayers were parties to the agreement.[9]

In some instances there is a willingness to form agreements with single unions in preference to councils. This is due probably, on the one hand, to the greater influence a national union has over its local unions in enforcing the terms of a trade agreement, and, on the other, to the aggressive attitude of councils in general or sympathetic strikes. In the lockout of 1900 in Chicago, the Building Contractors' Council refused to treat with the Building Trades Council, but agreed to meet representatives of the various unions for the purpose of forming separate trade agreements. The agreements required that the unions should sever all connection with the Council and should promise to remain independent of trade federations during the life of the agreement.

Among the more important objects which the trades council seeks to accomplish are the introduction of the eight-hour day, the use of the union label, the enforcement of the working card system and the use of arbitration.

[9] Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XIV, p. 24.

The shorter work-day figures prominently in all present activity and is a special aim of the International Building Trades Council.[10] The interest of the Council in this reform sometimes extends beyond the membership where aid is given to other labor organizations in their efforts to obtain a shorter day.[11]

The label as a trade device has been used effectively by allied printing trades councils and the metal trades, and to some extent by the allied building trades.[12] Owing to the peculiar nature of the building industry, a general label was considered at first to be impracticable.[13] Later, at the Milwaukee Convention of 1899, the demand arose for a building trades label, and the fourth convention of the International Council in 1901 adopted a design to be used on buildings erected entirely by union labor.[14] This label has since been placed on stores, dwellings and office buildings in several large cities.[15]

The working card may also be regarded as an important factor in the improvement of labor conditions. Thus, the constitution for local councils affiliated with the International Building Trades Council declares that "it shall be the duty of the Council to encourage agreements with contractors which will guarantee the employment only of mechanics and laborers in possession of the current quarterly

[10] Constitution, Art. II, sec. 1.

[11] At the third annual convention, 1900, for example, a resolution was adopted pledging the support of the Council in the eight-hour demand made by the Boiler Makers and Iron Ship Builders of America.

[12] The Joint Conference Board of 1905, including representatives from the various trades in the printing industry has agreed upon the following regulations with respect to the label used by allied printing trades councils: "The International Typographical Union takes charge of all trades council labels, and loans them to local councils which act as its agents. No other label differing in design from the label now in use may be issued by any council, and no organization except the allied trades council in a single jurisdiction may authorize the use of the union label"; see International Bookbinder, March, 1905, p. 84.

[13] Weekly Compendium, December 6, 1896.

[14] Proceedings, Fourth Annual Convention, 1901, p. 125.

[15] Labor Compendium, February 15, 1903.

working card of the national council.[16] Under this law an agreement was formed in 1901 between a builder and the building trades council of St. Louis, according to which the employer promised to engage none but men who carried the working card issued by the Council, and to compel all sub-contractors to observe the same rule. In return the Council agreed to discourage strikes, although the sub-contractors might have trouble on another building with which the contractor had nothing to do.[17]

Again, in an agreement entered into in 1896 by the building trades council of Washington, D. C., provision was made: "In consideration of the organizations represented in the council, a central representative body of the District of Columbia, pledging their support to the undersigned concerns and individuals, the latter agree to employ none but local union labor, recognized as such by the said building trades council on all their work in the District of Columbia."[18] It is claimed that when the working card is in this way made a condition of employment, it strengthens the union or council and serves as a prompt collector of dues. No member who is in arrears above a certain amount is in good standing or entitled to work under the agreement. The card of a painter, for example, does not allow him to work on a building unless he has in addition to his own trade union card the card of the International Council, and he cannot obtain the latter unless he has the former.[19] On the other hand, employers' associations in some localities are opposed to any working card which bestows exclusive privileges on union men. Thus the employers of the building trades of Baltimore, in April, 1903, adopted the following rule: "We will not recognize any card or card system that

[16] General Constitution, Local Councils affiliated with the National Building Trades Council, 1902, Art. VI, sec. 2.

[17] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, Fifth Convention, 1902, p. 46.

[18] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, 1900, p. 79.

[19] National Building Trades Council: Its Origin, Objects, and Benefits, pp. 9–10.

will in any way abridge the rights and liberties of ourselves or any workmen in our employ, or any person who may be employed by us as sub-contractors in any capacity whatever."

Finally, the arbitration of differences receives considerable attention from the allied trades council. Local and national conferences with employers are held whenever possible, and every effort is put forth to uphold trade agreements and avoid strikes. The contract of the Washington trades council, referred to above, also provided for the settlement of all difficulties by arbitration. In case differences should arise between any employer and the council, and fail to be satisfactorily settled by the parties directly concerned, three representatives were to be chosen by the building trades council and three by the employers. These selected a seventh man if a majority failed to agree. The decision of this arbitration committee was binding on all parties to the dispute.[20]

To make this system more general the national convention of 1898 adopted a resolution strongly indorsing joint conference boards composed of representatives of local councils and master builders, and urging all building trades councils to establish such conference or arbitration boards with employers' associations whenever practicable.[21] Likewise, to increase the efficiency of the system, the general executive board of the national council is ready to act as an arbitration committee in any local trouble, whenever called upon by a building trades council or national union.[22]

On the part of some employers there seems a strong sentiment in favor of joint arbitration boards. The builders' exchange of Memphis, Tennessee, declared: "If there is

[20] Third Annual Convention, International Building Trades Council, 1900, p. 79.

[21] Labor Compendium, September 10, 1899; Constitution, National Building Trades Council, 1903, pp. 30–31.

[22] A permanent conference board was established in 1899 between the Building Contractors' Association and the Building Trades Council of St. Louis.

one side to anything there must be another, and the time has gone by when one side can dictate the rights of the other side. Arbitration for the settlement of questions at issue between employers and workmen presupposes that both sides are willing to concede the rights of the other."[23] Again, in a report to the National Association of Builders, 1902, the secretary, Mr. John Herring, has said: "The unions are now regarded as powerful institutions by both press and public because of their splendid organization. The builders must achieve a like organization, strong and well poised. When they possess such organization all labor disputes can be arbitrated between them and the labor unions without recourse to strikes or lockouts."[24]

(*c*) The third endeavor of allied trades councils is to secure effectiveness for the sympathetic strike in certain industries. The advocates of trades councils argue that the employer has little to fear from trade organizations acting independently, for some unions will remain at work while others in the same industry are on strike. On the other hand, general or sympathetic strikes,[25] involving all trades in a given industry, seriously cripple the employer and render him more willing to yield to the demands of the unions.[26]

---

[23] Report of Committee appointed by the Builders' Exchange of Memphis, Tenn., p. 4.

[24] Labor Compendium, November 23, 1902.

[25] A distinction may be drawn between sympathetic and general strikes. A strike is "sympathetic" when trades whose members have no direct grievances are called out to aid other unions on strike. It becomes "general" when all the unions working under a common agreement stop work. In this case a violation of the agreement in any one part is equivalent to a violation of the whole agreement and affects all trades alike.

[26] In addition to this positive advantage, it is claimed that a general agreement between an employer and a trades council serves to reduce the number of strikes to a minimum. In the building trades, for instance, a strike on one section may tie up a large part of the industry, and under a system of separate trade agreements a trade strike may occur at any time. A general agreement, on the contrary, binds all trades in the council to work as a unit under common rules. Before a strike is declared on any portion of the work all the trades represented in the agreement are consulted.

The usual steps leading to an allied trades strike are as follows: A local union desiring the support of affiliated unions in a contemplated strike submits a statement of its grievance to the local council. The executive board of the council, or in some cases the board of business agents composed of paid representatives of the different unions, endeavors to adjust the trouble without resort to a strike. Failing in this, the executive committee in some instances, the local council in others, decides whether a general strike shall be called.[27] Any affiliated local or national union inaugurating a strike without the approval of the local council or the national executive board may expect little help from the various trades represented in the federation.

To strengthen the unions in the use of the sympathetic strike, the constitution of a trades council will sometimes require affiliated trades to insert in their agreements with their employers a clause permitting the unions to stop work

[27] A national agreement existed for a short time between the International Typographical Union, the International Printing Pressmen's Union, and the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders in which each union bound itself to help the others in time of need. This tripartite agreement was carried out through the local allied printing trades council which appointed a committee to adjust any difficulty with the employer, and in case of failure to report the result to the executive council of the various national unions. A sympathetic strike followed if the councils supported the grievance. (Industrial Commission's Report, 1900, Vol. VII, pp. 172–173; Vol. XVII, p. 81.)

More recently allied printing trades councils order sympathetic strikes under the following provisions agreed upon at the joint conference of 1905 among representatives of the five national unions in the printing industry: "When a sympathetic strike shall have been inaugurated by the parties to this agreement the initiating union shall pay those involved . . . the sum of $7 per week to each married man involved, and $5 per week to each single man or woman involved for the period of eight weeks, unless settlement is sooner effected."

"When a joint demand is made involving either a question of wages or hours, all conferences with proprietors shall be conducted by joint committees of parties to this agreement, and in case a strike or lockout shall result, each union shall provide strike benefits for its own members, and shall have no financial recourse on any of the allied unions"; see International Bookbinder, March, 1905, p. 84.

when called upon to do so by the local council.[28] In this way the alliance truly becomes a "combination of trades in defense of a single trade where a single trade feels itself aggrieved."[29] In many local sympathetic strikes the activity of the board of business agents is the dominant feature whenever quick and decisive action is demanded. In the building trades especially where delay until the next meeting of the central council often defeats the very end in view, administration of affairs has been entrusted to paid agents who devote all their time to the interests of the industry. The arbitrary power vested in the hands of this board by some local councils is one of the principal objections urged against the system.

From the standpoint of the employer, however, the activity of the business agent reveals certain advantages and also certain disadvantages. In the first place, he serves a useful purpose in bringing about uniform conditions of work. The employer in turn through this system of collective bargaining understands more thoroughly the attitude of his men and thereafter avoids unnecessary bargaining with them. But some employers are ready to take other means of securing the good will of the labor representative.[30] They have learned to conciliate the walking delegate or business agent and in return are permitted on occasion to employ non-union men, to use non-union material, or to dispense with the union label. On the other hand, the walking delegate is often in a position to injure an unfriendly employer by underhand methods. Sometimes the agent receives a certain sum from one contractor to call a strike on the building of a rival contractor. In the building trades especially, where it is highly important to complete a contract on time, it often rests with the business

[28] Constitution, Building Trades Council of Detroit and Vicinity, Art. XIX, sec. 10.

[29] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, Third Annual Convention, 1900, pp. 52–56.

[30] Bulletin of the National Metal Trades Association, Vol. 11, p. 924.

agent to delay the work seriously in this way. Again, it frequently happens that money is extorted from the employer on condition that his men be allowed to work without union interference.

A typical instance of "blackmail" occurred in New York during the existence of the "United Board of Building Trades" organized in March, 1902. The Brotherhood of Painters having made an exclusive agreement with the employers of New York City applied for admission into the New York Building Trades Council. The Amalgamated Painters, a rival body with the support of the United Board, opposed the entrance of Brotherhood men and succeeded in causing a general strike on all work on which members of the Brotherhood of Painters were employed. A little later the United Board or Board of Delegates agreed to admit the Brotherhood of Painters into the building trades council and to call the strike off, on payment of a certain amount by employers to members of the board. After the employers had consented to this arrangement the men returned to work.[31]

With the growth of employers' associations and the introduction of a more advanced system of collective bargaining and arbitration, however, the walking delegate in many places is losing his power for evil, and is becoming a purely administrative official with little individual initiative. The officals of the unions claim that business agents do not interfere with the business of employers and barring exceptional cases are not the cause of strikes. The business agent collects dues, sees that every member carries his working card, organizes non-union men, and whenever possible brings about the peaceful settlement of all difficulties.[32] Notwithstanding this favorable view, it is maintained even by friends of labor that the walking delegate has greatly injured the cause he represents. Taking advantage of the powers con-

[31] See "The New York Building Trades," by J. R. Commons, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, May, 1904.

[32] See testimony of the general secretary of the International Building Trades Council before the Industrial Commission. (Report, Vol. XIV, 1901, p. 23.)

ferred upon him by the executive board or the trades council, he has frequently acted with haste and imprudence, not only causing resentment on the part of employers and the public in general, but wronging the very persons in whose interest he is supposed to work.

The Structural Building Trades Alliance requires affiliated unions who desire the support of the various branches in a contemplated strike to obtain the special approval of the board of governors.[88] Before a sympathetic strike is declared in the Metal Trades Federation, a statement of the grievance must be submitted by the local union wishing the support of the other unions to the local council. The council failing to reach a settlement refers the statement through the secretary-treasurer to the executive officer or secretary of each affiliated union, who ascertains the opinion of his own trade executive board. If a two-thirds' vote of the affiliated unions is in favor of supporting the grievance and final efforts to adjust the trouble fail, a general strike led by the president of the council is declared.

The financial weakness of the national trades councils makes it impracticable for them to control effectively local sympathetic strikes. Partly to strengthen the hands of the central executive, the constitution of the International Building Trades Council, as amended in 1900, authorized the general executive board in case of a strike or lockout to levy an assessment of five cents per member per week for a period not to exceed ten weeks in any one year. But this plan did not prove satisfactory, and the secretary-treasurer in his report to the sixth annual convention complained: "If the laws pertaining to strike benefits were enforced as per letter instead of the spirit in which they were enacted, the National Building Trades Council would now be an organization in memory only. Every union on strike would be entitled to financial aid and the ten weeks' assessment

[88] To inaugurate a sympathetic strike in any locality, a two-thirds vote of the local board of governors is necessary; see Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1904, Art. IX, secs. 1–6.

authorized in any one year would be but a drop in the bucket."[84] Consequently, the convention of 1903 instructed the general secretary-treasurer to keep on hand a separate emergency fund equivalent to five cents for each member of affiliated building trades councils, and to levy a special assessment of five cents per member whenever the emergency fund should sink below this amount.[85] The International Council, however, expects each affiliated union to support its own members as far as possible from the strike fund it may have on hand, from benefits received from the national or international union, and from a system of assessments inaugurated whenever a general strike is threatened. In 1901 the strike assessments of the International Council amounted to $8,029.72; in 1902, the strike fund had a balance of 1,099.34; and in 1903, a balance of $2,735.71.

Theoretically, the executive boards of the various trades councils have power to call off an authorized sympathetic strike. The Metal Trades Federation, for example, gives its executive committee the right, by majority vote, to declare a general or sympathetic strike off at any time as far as the Federation is concerned. The individual union may continue the strike on its own responsibility and with its own resources, but it must expect no further assistance from the allied trades.[86] In like manner, the Structural Building Trades Alliance requires at least two-thirds of the local board of governors to concur in any settlement of a local strike upon the recommendation of the unions directly involved.[87]

Prior to the convention of 1904, when the secretary-treasurer of the International Building Trades Council ceased to be a member of the executive board, this official practically controlled the decisions of the national council.

---

[84] Proceedings, National Building Trades Council, Sixth Annual Convention, 1903, p. 219.
[85] Ibid., p. 294; also Constitution, 1903, Art. IX, sec. 5.
[86] Constitution, Metal Trades Federation, 1903, Art. XI, sec. 2.
[87] Constitution, Structural Building Trades Alliance, 1905, Art. X, sec. 5.

In 1903, for example, a disagreement leading to a strike had occurred between the building trades council and the building contractors of Charleston, South Carolina. The council, it appears, had refused to work for certain contractors who were employing members of a plumbers' and electrical workers' union not affiliated with the trades council. On October 30, 1903, the secretary-treasurer rendered the following decision with regard to the strike:

> I, therefore, in the interest of the Building Trades Council (of Charleston, S. C.), the welfare and the prosperity of the building industry of your city, and in justice and fairness, by authority vested in me by the constitution of the National Building Trades Council of America, decide that all strikes now pending against such contractors be, and are hereby, declared off, and that all members who can obtain employment in such shops or on such jobs resume work at once.[88]

Among the minor functions of trades councils, mention may be made of (*a*) the use of the boycott, and (*b*) activity in labor legislation and in politics.

(*a*) The boycott as a method of enforcing demands has been generally favored by trades councils. Obviously, the more comprehensive the organization and the greater the control exercised over local unions the more effective will be the boycott of a local council. An important boycott in which a local building trades council enlisted the support of the National Council began in July, 1901. The Schlitz Brewing Company having been declared unfair by the building trades council of Milwaukee for violating its agreement with the council, appealed to the Federated Trades Council, chartered by the American Federation of Labor. Ascertaining that the latter organization wished to disband the independent building trades council and form a building trades section under the Federated Council, the American Federation refused to support the boycott. A struggle followed between the local building trades council, supported

[88] See Pamphlet, "To Avoid Strikes and Lockouts," issued by the National Council, pp. 4–5.

by the National Council on the one side, and the Milwaukee Brewing Association and the American Federation on the other. The employers' combine, with the aid of a federated council anxious to reorganize the building trades, proved too strong for the building alliance, and in May, 1903, the efforts to make the boycott effectual ceased.[39]

(*b*) Allied trades councils frequently endeavor to influence legislation. The constitution of the International Building Trades Council makes special reference to a mechanics' lien law. Again, a resolution adopted in 1899 by the general executive board authorized the president and general secretary to appoint a general legislative committee to secure the passage of labor legislation by the national legislature.[40] Although the desired legislation is different in different localities, one reform seems to have received particular attention wherever building trades councils are active, namely that all buildings in the course of erection shall be provided with temporary flooring on each story above the first floor.[41]

The Metal Trades Federation and the Structural Building Trades Alliance are too recent in origin to have any well defined attitude towards political candidates, but the International Building Trades Council frequently advocates the election of any candidates who are known to favor organized labor. For this purpose the columns of the official journal, the *Labor Compendium,* are used. A recent example of political activity in national affairs was the

[39] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, 1902, pp. 18–29; 1903, pp. 205, 206.

[40] Proceedings, International Building Trades Council, 1900, p. 30. Similar work is carried on in the various states. In the official report of the joint legislative committee including representatives of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Locomotive Firemen, Railroad Trainmen, and the Federation of Labor for the State of Indiana, we find typical examples of this work. Bills favorable to labor and introduced into the state legislature are given hearty support, while unfavorable legislation is strongly opposed; see Indiana Blue Book, Joint Legislative Committee, 1903.

[41] Labor Compendium, August 21, 1898.

earnest support given Mr. William R. Hearst as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for president.[42]

[42] The following resolution offered by an affiliated union and adopted by the Building Trades Council of St. Louis is a typical example of local participation in politics: "Whereas, John T. Hunt, candidate for Congress for the eleventh district of Missouri, a stonecutter by trade, is a tried and true friend of trades unions, therefore, be it resolved, that we, the Building Trades Council of St. Louis and vicinity, do indorse the said John T. Hunt for office . . ., and that we give him our universal support from now until election day, November 4, 1902." (Labor Compendium, October 26, 1902.)

PART III.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONS.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY.

Certain national unions, very similar to the industrial union, are in reality trade unions. The Typographical Union, for example, is still a trade union; although since the introduction of machinery the Union has found it necessary to admit the machinists employed in the printing office. The pressmen and similar workers in the industry have separate national trade unions. In other industrial fields, notably in the boot and shoe,[1] the garment, the cigar, and the textile industries,[2] where minute subdivision of labor has made one operative entirely dependent upon the work of another, separate national organizations for the branches have disappeared.

In the following pages, attention will be directed to those industrial unions which seek to include under one national organization the auxiliary trades as well as the various branches of the principal trade in a single industry. As thus defined the most important industrial unions are the Brewery Workmen, the Mine Workers, the Western Federation of Miners, and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees.[3]

[1] But the lasters, the cutters, and the sewers, organized as the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union do not form an industrial union in the strict sense, since these operatives are all following essentially one trade and do not include in their organization auxiliary trades. In other words, the unit is still the trade and not the industry.

[2] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1888.

[3] The structure of American trade unions is undergoing such constant change that no hard and fast line may be drawn between one form and another. In this study, however, those unions which have

The National Union of Journeymen Brewers was organized in 1886, but the plan of organization proved unsatisfactory and a more comprehensive union was soon planned. On March 4, 1887, the American Federation of Labor granted a charter to the brewery workmen in the following terms:

> The organization shall be known as the National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States, for the thorough organization of the trade and a more perfect federation of all trades and labor unions; and the union, being duly formed, is empowered and authorized to initiate into its membership any person or persons in accordance with its own laws, and conduct the business affairs of said union in compliance with the best interests of the trade and labor movement in general. The autonomy of the union is hereby ordained and secured.

On May 21, 1887, the general executive board of the United Brewery Workmen notified the workmen in the different branches of the industry, namely, the brewers, beer drivers, maltsters, beer-bottlers, engineers, firemen, etc., to join the recently established union under the charter issued by the American Federation. Subsequently, at the first convention held in Detroit, September, 1887, to which delegates were sent from these different branches, the amalgamation of the several trades into one industrial union was practically completed by the formal acceptance of the maltsters, the brewery engineers, the brewery firemen and beer drivers as members of the national union.[4]

During 1887–88 the organization developed rapidly on account of the friendly attitude of employers. It often happened that the master brewer, fearing the effect of open hostility to organized labor, consented to have his plant unionized and even urged his employees to join the union. A little later, however, these new members, ignorant of the

---

disregarded trade boundaries and have carried the principles of organization according to industries farthest are considered, while occasional reference is made to other important unions which seem to be approaching the industrial form.

[4] Proceedings, United Brewery Workmen, 1887, p. 20.

aims of organized labor and anxious to assert their independence, caused considerable trouble by making extravagant demands. To resist the encroachments of the union, the employers organized "The Master Brewers' Association" and a short time thereafter, in April, 1888, declared a general lockout of all members of the brewery unions in Philadelphia, New York, Newark, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee. At this time the United Brewery Workmen had reached a membership of about 12,500, but in consequence of the lockout, the number was reduced to 1,250.

The union gradually recovered and made gains in membership year by year. In 1895 the American Federation of Labor made an attempt to drive those brewery workers who had formed national trade assembly No. 35, Knights of Labor, either from that organization or from the American Federation.[5] At the Cincinnati convention of 1896 the Federation instructed all organizations affiliated with the American Federation to give the United Brewery Workmen as a national union all possible assistance in opposition to the Knights of Labor.[6] Thenceforth brewery workmen gradually withdrew from the Knights of Labor until at the present time practically no brewery workmen remain in that Order.

Aside from this rivalry between the national union and the national trade assembly of the Knights, serious trouble had arisen from time to time with national trade unions claiming jurisdiction over some of the workmen admitted to membership by the Brewery Workmen. Thus, the International Union of Steam Engineers has claimed the brewery engineers; and the International Brotherhood of

[5] In March, 1894, the general executive board of the Knights of Labor granted permission to the brewery workmen to form a national trade assembly; see Journal of the Knights of Labor, March 8, 1894.

[6] The executive council in October, 1896, for example, agreed to indorse the label of the United Brewery Workmen on condition that no Knights of Labor assemblies of brewers be permitted to use the union label on their products; see Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1896, p. 89.

Stationary Firemen, the brewery firemen. The various grievances have been submitted to the annual conventions of the American Federation, but no satisfactory settlement has thus far been reached. In 1900 and again in 1901 the Federation of Labor declared that "the best interests of the movement will be conserved by vesting the jurisdiction over the employees of the brewery in the United Brewery Workmen's Union."[7] But in 1902 the executive council of the American Federation, apparently reversing the previous decisions of the convention, ordered the Brewery Workmen to revoke all charters issued to engineers' and firemen's unions since the convention of 1900. The American Federation is thus opposed to the present aims of the Brewery Workmen who are striving in every way possible to maintain jurisdiction over all the various branches of the industry.[8]

The first national organization of miners in the United States appears to have been the American Miners' Association formed in Illinois during 1861. At one time this Association had state and district organizations in several eastern states, but it suffered severely in the strikes of 1867 and 1868 and soon disbanded. From 1869 to 1874 the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association of the anthracite coal region, and the Miners' National Association of the bituminous fields carried on the work of organization in their respective localities. From 1874, however, these associations rapidly declined, and little activity seems to have been displayed among the miners until the organizers of the

[7] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, pp. 186, 187; ibid., 1901, pp. 245, 246.

[8] The membership of the Brewery Workmen has increased steadily. On April 1, 1899, the national secretary reported a membership of 12,450. In September, 1900, he reported the number of local unions to be 202, and the membership 19,900; in September, 1901, local unions 280, and membership 26,000; and in February, 1903, local unions 316 and a membership of 31,300; see Proceedings, National Union of the United Brewery Workmen, 1900, p. 6; 1901, p. 45; 1903, p. 154.

Knights of Labor infused new life into the miners' unions. In May, 1883, an inter-state convention, including representatives from Ohio, Maryland and Pennsylvania, was held by the Amalgamated Association of Miners with the object of bringing under one government all miners and laborers in and about the mines of the country.[9] At a national convention held in Indianapolis, September 9, 1885, a new organization of miners was formed, the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers. This union later gained considerable influence throughout the coal fields and succeeded in establishing joint conferences and annual agreements regulating scales of wages with the coal operators.

The rivalry existing between the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers and the district assembly of Knights of Labor proved disastrous to both. A joint convention in 1888 formed the Miners' National Progressive Union, and in 1890 the United Mine Workers of America, composed of members from each organization, was established.[10] The early life of the new union was precarious, and for several years after the strike of 1894 the membership constantly dwindled. From 1897, however, when a general strike gave new life to the movement, the numerical strength of the union was rapidly increased. The prestige of the union was materially increased by the strike of 1900 and in 1902 by the prolonged strike of the anthracite coal miners.[11]

In planning the Mine Workers' Union, its founders intended that its jurisdiction should extend over the whole coal industry and include unskilled as well as skilled workers, not only miners, but also mine engineers, machinists, teamsters, etc. It was planned to include both anthracite and bituminous miners in one union in order to control more effectively the production of these partially competing fields.

---

[9] National Labor Tribune, 11th year, No. 20, p. 5.
[10] Ibid., 13th year, No. 38, p. 5; and 17th year, No. 51, p. 5.
[11] Mitchell, Organized Labor, p. 362, and Report of the Industrial Commission, Vol. XVII, pp. 184–185.

The wide scope of the national union thus formed has developed controversies between the United Mine Workers on the one hand and the Firemen and Blacksmiths on the other. The American Federation of Labor, with whom the different organizations are affiliated, has declared, through its executive board, that the United Mine Workers, in the interest of greater harmony among the branches in the industry, shall have sole jurisdiction over the disputed trades, and has otherwise encouraged its efforts to extend the industrial union throughout the mining industry.[12]

The Western Federation of Miners held its first convention on May 15, 1893, in Butte, Montana, with forty-two delegates present from fifteen unions. Officers were elected and a resolution protesting against the action of the Mine Operators' Association in the Coeur d'Alene struggle of 1892 and 1893 was adopted. In 1894, soon after the establishment of the union, the men employed in the Cripple Creek gold fields demanded a minimum wage of three dollars for an eight-hour day, and after four months the strike resulted in a victory for the union. Other strikes occurred in 1896 and 1897 at Leadville, in 1899 in the Coeur d'Alene mining district, and in 1901 at Rossland and Fernie, British Columbia, and also in the San Juan district of Colorado.

The most important strike of the Western Federation of Miners, however, began in 1903 at Colorado City, where the mill and smeltermen's union quit work in order to compel better working conditions. As the sympathetic strike is a recognized part of policy of the Western Federation of Miners, the executive board decided on March 16th, "to notify all men working on properties supplying ore to the Standard Mill in Colorado City to discontinue work" and a little later the

[12] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1900, p. 192. The membership as reported at the annual conventions since 1897 has been as follows: For 1897, 9,731; 1898, 32,902; 1899, 61,887; 1900, 115,521; 1901, 198,024; 1902, 175,367; 1903, 247,240; see Proceedings, United Mine Workers, 1901, p. 61; 1902, p. 61; 1903, p. 61; 1904, p. 49.

miners in the Cripple Creek region were called out. One of the chief causes underlying the bitter conflict which followed was the determined effort to establish the eight-hour day in the smelter works of Colorado.[18] In 1899 the legislature had passed an eight-hour law which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the State. To overcome this difficulty, an amendment to the state constitution was passed in November, 1902, by a majority of over 45,000 votes, but the General Assembly, after having thus received a direct command to establish the eight-hour law, adjourned without taking any action on the measure. It is claimed that much of the subsequent disorder, personal injury, and even bloodshed in the Cripple Creek region during 1903–04 are traceable to this failure on the part of the legislature to enact an eight-hour law.

Early in 1900 a relief department, maintained partly by the compulsory contributions of the employees, was established on the Pacific railway lines. This department was similar in many respects to those already established by the Pennsylvania and the Baltimore and Ohio railroads. The organized railway employees objected to certain features of the relief system and called meetings of their executive boards for the purpose of formulating an appeal to be sent to the general offices of the company. In April, 1900, fifty-five delegates, assembled at San Francisco, formed a committee with Mr. George Estes as chairman, and presented their claims to the officials of the road. The success of this joint committee in securing the abandonment of the plan for a relief department, coupled with the complete failure of a strike declared in December, 1900, by the Order of Railroad Telegraphers, led to a demand for an industrial union with a relief department as a leading feature.

The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees undertook to supply this need. In January, 1901, eight railroad

[18] Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1905, "Labor Disturbances in Colorado."

men,—an engineer, a conductor, a fireman, a brakeman, a bridge carpenter, a section foreman, a machinist, and a trainmaster met at Roseburg, Oregon, and adopted a constitution for a projected union of all men engaged in the railway service. On January 27, 1901, at a general mass meeting of railroad men, Roseburg Division, No. 1, the first lodge of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, was organized.

Almost simultaneously two other organizations, the Employees' Amalgamated Association of San Francisco, and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees at Winnepeg, Manitoba, sprang into existence. Each planned to bring all railroad men under a single government and to protect them by means of sick, accident, funeral, disability and death benefits. After periods of brief independent activity the San Francisco and Winnepeg unions joined the order instituted at Roseburg, under the general title of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees. In 1902 the Order sought admission to the American Federation of Labor, but owing to the industrial character of the union, and the rivalry almost certain to result between it and the railway brotherhoods, the Federation refused to grant a charter.[14] The United Brotherhood then joined the American Labor Union and became one of the three national organizations affiliated with that order. In March, 1905, the United Brotherhood, as yet comparatively small in membership, consisted of sixty-eight divisions located in Oregon, California, Nevada, Montana, Colorado, Texas, Minnesota, Louisiana, North Dakota, Kansas, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Manitoba, Arizona, Washington, Arkansas, Indiana and New Mexico.[15]

In certain respects the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees may be considered a successor to the American Railway Union of 1893–1897. Soon after the Supreme Council of the United Order of Railway Employees, a loose

[14] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1902, p. 57.
[15] The Voice of Labor, March, 1905, pp. 23, 24.

federation of railway unions, disbanded in June, 1892, Eugene V. Debs, of Terre Haute, undertook to organize the railway employees upon an entirely different basis.[16] All branches of the railway service were united under a single government. A manifesto describing the proposed organization declared: "There will be one supreme law of the Order, with provisions for all classes, one roof to shelter all, each separate and yet all united when unity of action is required. In this is seen the federation of all classes which is feasible, instead of the federation of organizations which has proved to be utterly impracticable." The American Railway Union had at first a board of directors consisting of nine members, together with representatives who supervised the general activity of the organization. To facilitate the work of the Order committees of three members each were selected with these titles: literature, mediation, insurance, employment and finance. All railway employees were eligible to membership except general yardmasters, supervisors of bridges or buildings, superintendents of telegraph, master mechanics, general or commercial agents and division superintendents of transportation, etc. Although the union grew rapidly, it had not become firmly established before a sympathetic strike was declared in support of the Pullman employees, in June, 1894, and this strike led to the collapse of the union a short time thereafter.[17]

A conference of industrial unionists was held in Chicago, January 2, 3 and 4, 1905, for the purpose of advancing the industrial movement in the United States. The initial manifesto issued urged all workers who favored the industrial union as a form of organization to meet in convention in Chicago on June 27, 1905, and set forth the following principles: "Separation of craft from craft renders industrial and financial solidarity impossible. Union men scab

[16] See Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 260, 261.
[17] Journal of the Knights of Labor, August, 24, 1893.

upon union men, hatred of worker for worker is engendered, and the workers are delivered helpless and disintegrated into the hands of the capitalists. Craft divisions foster political ignorance among the workers, thus dividing their class at the ballot box, as well as in the shop, mine and factory." To gain effectiveness, according to the manifesto, there must be "one great industrial union embracing all industries—providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally," wherein final authority shall rest with the collective membership.

Among the signers of the manifesto were Eugene V. Debs, Daniel McDonald, president of the American Labor Union; Wm. E. Trautman, editor of the *Brauer Zeitung;* Clarence Smith, secretary-treasurer of the American Labor Union; Chas. H. Moyer and Wm. D. Haywood, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the Western Federation of Miners; George Estes and Wm. L. Hall, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, and Chas. O. Sherman, general secretary of the United Metal Workers.[18]

[18] The Voice of Labor, March, 1905, pp. 3–5.

CHAPTER II.

STRUCTURE.

The primary unit in the structure of industrial unions is the local union. In some unions, the locals are organized along trade lines, in others the mixed local is the preferred form. The United Brotherhood of Railway Employees provides for separate locals of engineers, conductors, etc., while the United Mine Workers and the United Brewery Workmen favor mixed locals, or locals whose members represent all branches of the industry. Again, the Western Federation of Miners ordinarily urges members to join the local of their particular craft. In case there is no trade local nearby firemen, pumpmen and machinists become members of engineers' unions, and blacksmiths join miners' unions.[1] Though it is the accepted policy of industrial unions to maintain industrial unity as against trade autonomy, local unions organized by trades have power to legislate upon trade questions, as long as this independent activity does not conflict with the established laws of the national body.

Existing industrial unions, as compared with trade unions, attach comparatively slight importance to their annual or biennial conventions. The need for conventions is considerably lessened by the increased administrative and judicial power assigned to the general executive board and the more general use of the initiative and referendum. Thus, the United Brewery Workmen, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and

[1] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. VI, sec. 1.
[2] The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen are approaching the form of an industrial union. The union admits to membership all persons who are employed in slaughtering and packing establishments, except superintendents, foremen, bookkeepers,

Butcher Workmen[2] hold only biennial conventions. The General Division of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees retains the right "to consider and recommend to the collective membership for referendum vote any policy, plans or laws which it may deem advisable," but all legislative power is vested in the individual members.[3] Contrary to the general tendency herein noted, the annual convention of the International Longshoremen, Marine, and Transport Workers' Association has "full and final jurisdiction over all locals" and is the "ultimate tribunal to which all matters of general importance . . . shall be referred for adjustment."[4]

The executive board in national industrial unions is made up of representatives of the various trades included in the union.[5] The Brewery Workmen have a board of thirteen members including four brewers, four beer drivers, one maltsters, two beer-bottlers, one brewery engineer, and one brewery fireman. Six of these are nominated at the biennial convention and elected by popular vote. The remaining seven, who reside in the city where the union has its headquarters, are elected annually in a general or special convention.[6] The executive board of the Railway Employees

---

office clerks, salesmen for wholesale houses, and time keepers; see Constitution, 1901, Art. I, sec. 1.

[3] Constitution, United Brotherhood Railway Employees, 1904, Art. IV, sec. 2; Art. I, sec. 1. Contrast this provision with the corresponding one in the constitution of 1902, which reads: "The General Division is the congress or highest law-making and exclusive legislative power over all divisions which are now in existence, or which may hereafter be instituted, etc."; see Constitution, United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, 1902, Art. III, sec. 1.

[4] Constitution, International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, 1904, Art. II and Art. III, sec. 1.

[5] The executive board of the United Mine Workers in addition to the national officers includes one member from each district. In the convention of 1903, President Mitchell repeated his objection to the present structure of the national executive board, and succeeded in having the constitution amended so that whenever a general strike is contemplated, each member of the executive board instead of having one vote shall have one vote and one additional vote for every 5,000 members in good standing or majority fraction thereof."

[6] Constitution, 1904, Art. V, secs. 1 and 2; Art. VII, sec. 10.

is composed of the president, general secretary-treasurer, and one representative from each of the fifteen trades. All of the members of the board except the secretary-treasurer are elected by a referendum vote for a term of two years.[7]

Large discretionary powers are vested in the national executive board. This body practically represents the convention when the latter is not in session and directs to a large extent the affairs of the national organization. In questions of wide interest, however, the initiative and referendum is an important check to arbitrary action. Thus, in the Brewery Workmen a popular vote is taken on the demand of a local union supported by one-eighth of all local unions.[8] As considerable delay necessarily attends this referendum vote, the immediate check to the executive board is comparatively slight. A more effective check perhaps is the direct responsibility of the board to the general convention, or, wherever the officials are elected by referendum vote, to the general membership.

The office of president in an industrial union is made peculiarly difficult by the presence of various trades in a single organization. It is difficult to select an executive officer with qualifications necessary for this service. In the present structure of the United Brewery Workmen no provision is made for an official head and the duties ordinarily assigned to a president are performed by the international board.[9] In the remaining industrial unions the more important powers of the national president may be considered briefly under the following heads: (*a*) appointing power, and power of suspension or removal, (*b*) general supervisory powers, (*c*) control over strikes.

(*a*) The national president of the United Mine Workers has power with the consent of the executive board to fill by

[7] The secretary-treasurer is elected by the General Division for a term of two years; see Constitution, 1904, Art. II, secs. 1 and 2.

[8] Constitution, United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. XIV, sec. b.

[9] Another important consideration in this case is the prevalence of socialistic ideas among the brewery workers. In theory the national secretaries and the editor of the Brauer Zeitung are all on an equality.

appointment all vacancies occurring in the national offices and also to suspend any national officer for insubordination or for other just cause. He has the right to appoint organizers who are usually selected from members of the national executive board whenever their services are required.[10] As may readily be inferred, this power to remove national officials, combined with the right to appoint as organizers members of the executive board, materially strengthens the president in his administration of affairs. Similarly, the president of the Western Federation of Miners, with the approval of the executive board, may fill all vacancies in the national offices and appoint such organizers as the condition of the union may warrant.[11]

(*b*) Besides the power of appointment and removal, the presidents of industrial unions exercise general supervision over the different departments. Thus, in the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association he superintends the general activity of the locals and enforces all laws of the national convention.[12] The president ordinarily has the right to visit any local union and inspect its proceedings either in person or by deputy for the express purpose of finding out whether the laws of the organization are obeyed.[13] The Western Federation of Miners, for example, requires the national president to visit each district once a year, and also as many local unions as possible primarily to see whether each union is bearing a proper share of the tax burden.[14]

(*c*) Occasion for prompt and decisive action arises in time of threatened or actual strike. Industrial unions usually provide for such an emergency by vesting the necessary power to act in the hands of one man or a small body of men. The United Brewery Workmen and the

[10] Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1903, Art. II, sec. 2.
[11] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. III, sec. 3.
[12] Constitution, 1904, Art. IV, sec. 3.
[13] See, for example, Constitution, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen, 1903, Art. III, sec. 2.
[14] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. III, sec. 3.

Western Federation place the executive board in charge of affairs. The United Mine Workers and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, on the other hand, practically give supreme authority in strikes to their national presidents. Before a district decides any question which directly or indirectly affects the interests of mine workers in other districts, the president and secretary of that district must send a written statement to the national president, "setting forth the grievances complained of, the action contemplated by the district, together with the reasons therefor, and the national president shall, within five days after the receipt of such statement, either approve or disapprove of the action contemplated by the aggrieved district."

If the national president favors the plan proposed, the district is then free to act without further delay. If he refuses to sanction the strike and the district is unwilling to accept his decision, an appeal may be taken to the national executive board. In any event, until the national president has given his approval or the national executive board has sustained an appeal, no district may enter upon a strike unless it has been ordered by a national convention.[15] The president of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees likewise approves and conducts strikes favored by a two-thirds vote of all members affected, but no strike is legal unless it receives the approval of the national president.[16]

The other elective officials of industrial unions are the vice-presidents, the secretary-treasurer, and in the United Brewery Workmen, a corresponding secretary and a financial recording secretary. The vice-presidents assist the president in the discharge of his duties and sometimes act as general organizers for the union. The secretary-treasurer keeps a report of the convention proceedings, submits a complete statement of the receipts and disbursements

[15] Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1905, Art. X, sec. 2.
[16] Constitution, United Brotherhood Railway Employees, 1904, Art. III, sec. 4.

to the convention, and attends to all correspondence of the central office. He is usually required to give bond for the faithful discharge of his duties, ranging from $2,500 in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees to $30,000 in the Western Federation of Miners.

In most industrial unions the executive and judicial acts of the president are subject to the approval of the general executive board which thus stands as a permanent check to any abuse of power. Where the constitution fails to make a definite provision of this kind other effective checks are provided. For instance, the constitution of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees provides that the general executive board "has power to enforce its decisions by dismissing officers, except in the case of the president, who may be suspended by the board for cause, subject to appeal to the General Division or collective membership." Again, if five or more divisions at any time recommend the dismissal of the president or general secretary, a referendum vote on the proposition must be taken within two months.[17] Similarly, the constitution of the United Brewery Workmen provides that in case any of the international officers "fail to perform their duties or become guilty of dishonest transactions, they can at any time be suspended or removed from office by the international executive board, but they shall have the right of appeal to the next convention or may demand a popular vote on the subject."[18]

Where less stress is placed on the annual or biennial convention, the officers are elected by the membership. The United Mine Workers, for example, prior to 1902 elected their officers at the annual convention, and the delegates came prepared to vote for candidates who had been nomi-

[17] Constitution, 1904, Art. II, sec. 14, and Art. I, sec. 2.

[18] Constitution, United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. V, sec. 16. Any local of the Longshoremen's Union may prefer charges against an elective officer of the association for violation of the constitution or laws. The executive council is empowered to try all such cases; see Constitution, 1904, Art. IX.

nated in advance by the constituent unions.[19] In that year the system of electing national officers by popular vote was introduced and has since been used. Secretaries of local unions forward to the national office not later than eleven weeks before the convention the names of persons nominated by the locals. If a member has been nominated by five or more local unions he is notified within ten days after the nominations are closed. The names of the successful candidates are then sent to the locals not later than seven weeks and are voted upon not later than twenty days, before the annual convention assembles. The returns are forwarded at once to the national secretary-treasurer, canvassed by the national auditors, and reported to the convention. The candidates who have received a majority of the popular vote are declared elected, and in case any one lacks the necessary majority, an election is held by the convention in which the votes cast by each delegate are in proportion to the membership of the local unions represented.

A slightly different plan adopted by the United Brewery Workmen provides that the candidates receiving the highest number of votes, or a plurality thereof, shall be declared elected, and whenever two candidates are tied for any office another popular vote shall be taken.[20] The experience of industrial unions with the referendum, however, is unsatisfactory in that unless a question of special interest is presented to the members, a considerable part of the members do not vote. Thus, important offices may be filled or laws enacted by the votes of a comparatively limited portion of the membership. To make the referendum vote more representative, the United Brewery Workmen impose a fine of $1.00 on every member who neglects to participate in the election of officers.[21]

[19] Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1899, Art. VI, sec. 1.

[20] Ibid., 1904, Art. VII, sec. 3. The Western Federation of Miners, the Longshoremen, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen have not yet adopted the system of election by popular vote.

[21] Constitution, United Brewery Workmen, 1904, Art. VII, sec. 5.

CHAPTER III.

FUNCTIONS.

Attention may now be directed in turn to certain typical activities displayed by industrial unions in (*a*) the organization of new members, (*b*) the formation of agreements with employers, (*c*) the use of the label, (*d*) strikes, (*e*) boycotts, (*f*) politics, and (*g*) jurisdictional disputes.

(*a*) As in trade unions, paid organizers are appointed in the industrial unions who devote all or a large portion of their time to the interests of the union. The constitution of the International Longshoremen, Marine and Transport Workers' Association, for example, declares: "The president with the approval of the executive board shall have power to appoint an organizer wherever and whenever he may find it necessary. Such appointee must be a member in good standing and must be an active member engaged in his particular calling." Since the industrial unions are of comparatively recent formation, the question of organizing new locals is one of the most important with which the unions have to deal.

Industrial unionists as a rule claim that their form of organization is superior to that of trade unions in organizing new locals. In such industries as mining or railroading, separate national organizations for each trade necessitate separate sets of organizers working independently, whereas an industrial union governed by a single set of national officials following a uniform policy is enabled to do more effective work with a relatively smaller corps of organizers. Furthermore, the affiliation of a brewery engineer, a mine blacksmith or a marine and transport worker is uncertain as long as individual trades persist in their efforts to organize national unions. On the contrary, whenever labor organi-

zations follow exclusively the broad lines indicated by the industry, this confusion is less likely to occur.[1]

(*b*) Ordinarily, trade union agreements cover only the workmen of a single trade. If an industry is thoroughly unionized, there will be as many independent agreements regulating wages, hours, and minor conditions of employment as the number of trades represented therein. Since these agreements naturally expire at different times, a real or fancied grievance of any one trade resulting in a strike or lockout does not affect other closely associated trades which remain at work under the terms of their respective agreements. Thus, it frequently happens that the union men who continue working at such times are practically lending the greatest assistance to employers in their efforts to break the strike.

The industrial union, on the other hand, mustering the various trades in the industry under a single authority, is enabled to form one comprehensive agreement with employers and to act as a unit in all trade difficulties.[2] As a result, wherever the employer is willing to recognize and confer with union officials at all, he is more likely to concede better terms to the one conference committee bargaining in the name of his whole working force than he otherwise would feel inclined to concede to the separate trades under a system of independent trade agreements.[3]

---

[1] Here again it must be remembered that the activity of industrial unions in organizing members of trades with national unions has in reality been the source of numerous conflicts. But this conflict, it is claimed, is temporary in character and merely reveals the inevitable friction attending all transitional stages.

[2] See pp. 140, 141.

[3] As the employers become more thoroughly organized a higher degree of intelligence and a greater capacity for leadership on the part of labor representatives are required. Where employers are confronted with the demands of an authorized committee representing all workers in the industry, as the committee of the Mine Workers, in place of separate trade committees, as would be the case if the mine engineer or the mine blacksmith had separate trade organizations, the strategic position of the employees is considerably strengthened; see Industrial Commission Report, XIX, 1902, p. 844.

Contrary to the general policy of industrial unions with respect to the agreement, the Western Federation of Miners strongly opposes any contract extending over a considerable period of time. In the opinion of Secretary Haywood, who no doubt voices the prevailing sentiment, a time agreement, while tying the hands of the union, gives an unfair advantage to the employer who may on slight pretext throw men out of employment without doing violence to the letter of the agreement.[4]

In many agreements the various departments of the industry are enumerated with the corresponding rate of wages for each department or line of work. Thus, the agreement between the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees and the Rock Island System in New Mexico, to be in force from April 1, 1904, to April 1, 1905, fixes the rates of wages in the different departments in detail.

It is further claimed by the advocates of the industrial union that under normal conditions higher wages are maintained under the industrial agreement than under the more usual trade agreement. Thus, the international secretaries of the United Brewery Workmen, replying to the efforts of the Teamsters' International Union to absorb the beer drivers, have declared: "We know from experience that the Teamsters cannot command the wages and conditions which our brewery drivers now enjoy."[5]

Whenever a union desires to establish uniform working rules primarily designed to cover entire plants, the advantages of the industrial agreement over the trade agreement are marked. For example, a custom generally observed in the formation of all local agreements between brewery workmen and their employers is the insertion of a clause providing for the "lay-off" system which requires all men to be laid off in rotation. In some cases, however, where

[4] See also Miners' Magazine, Vol. IV, July, 1903, pp. 27, 28.

[5] Brauer Zeitung, September 17, 1904. This statement seems in the main to be well-founded as a comparison of the wages received by the beer drivers and other teamsters in various cities reveals.

difficulty is experienced in carrying out this plan strictly, the local union and the employer arrange to stop work altogether in the brewery an hour or so daily during the winter months. Other local unions, again, find it more convenient to have the brewmasters shut down the brewery one day in the week in order to keep the regular supply of men at work throughout the dull season. But whatever the local practice may be, the brewery workmen through the industrial agreement aim to distribute the injurious effects of business depression by letting all members share alike in the reduction of the working force, and this purpose can hardly be well accomplished unless the agreement covers more than a single trade.[6]

Finally, in most agreements in the brewing industry, provision is made for a union labor bureau through which the employers secure their labor supply. Formerly employment was obtained through independent agencies whose interest lay in creating as many vacancies as possible; but wherever the union is now strongly organized this condition has been largely changed. A typical provision of this kind is: "From and after the date of this agreement no brewers or maltsters shall be employed who are not members in good standing of Brewers and Maltsters' Union No. 6 (St. Louis, Mo.) and the Brewery Workmen's National Union, and all brewers and maltsters shall, as heretofore, be engaged through the labor bureau of the above mentioned organization."[7]

(*c*) In particular industries an important article of the agreement regulates the use of the union label. Where independent trade agreements provide for separate trade labels in a single industry confusion and ineffectiveness frequently result. Furthermore, where the different departments are

[6] The following provision is found in the fifth section of the New York beer brewers' agreements, 1900: "To avoid discharges during the winter season the workmen shall be laid off in rotation impartially for one week (or all men shall stop work for one day in the week)."

[7] Industrial Commission Report, 1901, Vol. XVII, p. 410.

closely associated and are equally responsible for a completed product, the label of one branch gives slight evidence that the product is entirely union made. On the contrary, an industrial agreement which establishes a uniform label for the whole group, is sufficient guarantee, if the terms of the agreement are strictly adhered to, that the stamped product of the employer has been made exclusively by union members.

In this connection the part played by the union stamp in the activity of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union is highly instructive. Prior to 1894, when the blue label was adopted as the label of the craft, the smaller unions in the industry, such as the Lasters' Protective Union, the Cutters' Union, etc., with separate trade labels were constantly in dispute over unsettled questions. In 1895 the advantages of further coöperation were seen, and at a convention held in that year the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union was formed. In October, 1898, a conference for the purpose of forming a union stamp contract between representatives of the Union and the W. L. Douglas Shoe Company of Brockton, Mass., resulted in the formation of an agreement to remain in force three years from November 1, 1898.

By this contract the Union agreed to furnish its union stamp to the employer free of charge, to make reasonable efforts to advertise the official stamp in the public press, union journals, labor conventions, etc., and to create as far as possible a widespread demand for union goods. The manufacturer in turn agreed to employ as boot and shoe workers in his factory in Brockton members of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union in good standing only, and to dismiss any worker, at the request of the Union, who might be in arrears for dues or for any other cause. He also agreed not to allow the union stamp to be impressed on any goods not made in his union factory. The parties to the contract mutually agreed in all cases of failure to adjust any dispute in reference to wages, hours, etc., to sub-

mit the question to a board of arbitration whose decision should be binding on all concerned.[8]

(*d*) The regulations of the industrial unions regarding entrance upon strikes do not differ materially from those of ordinary trade unions, except in one particular; since a strike of one trade involves a strike of all, a general mass meeting or conference of all the trades is held before a strike is inaugurated. For example, the boss brewers of St. Louis were willing in 1902 to form contracts covering all branches of the industry except the engineers and firemen. If the employers had persisted in maintaining this position, a general mass meeting of all brewery workers would have been called. If a two-thirds' majority, as determined by secret ballot, had been in favor of the proposition a strike involving the whole brewery would have been declared.[9]

In the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees the local grievance committee of the particular union involved presents any grievance to the railroad management for adjustment. If the difficulty affects the railroad firemen, for example, the committee reports back to the firemen's meeting, where the proposal of the employer is either accepted or rejected. If the terms are rejected the grievance is then carried to the local division or lodge composed of

[8] Ibid., pp. 409, 410; also Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1898, p. 103.

[9] A typical declaration of a general strike involving a large area is the following announcement which appeared in the official journal of the Miners' Union:

Suspend Work, April 21, at noon:
Let every miner in America stop:
Notice Miners:
General Office United Mine Workers of America,
Columbus, Ohio, Apr. 14th, 1894.

The National Convention of the United Mine Workers of America on April 11th, unanimously adopted the following:

Resolved, That on and after Saturday noon, April 21, 1894, no coal shall be mined in that part of the United States and Territories governed by our organization until such time as our general officers and national executive board shall order the miners to resume work. (See The United Mine Workers' Journal, Vol. IV, No. 2, April 19, 1894.)

all members of the railway service in the immediate locality. It is by them referred to the general executive committee including the chairmen of the local adjustment committees—fifteen men in all, or one man from each department of the service. A two-thirds' vote of this committee determines whether the grievance shall be recognized as a legitimate one by the union. If the railroad management still refuses to adjust the difference final action is taken by the membership of the division to decide whether a general strike shall be entered upon. To extend the strike over the whole brotherhood a referendum vote of the entire membership is necessary.

In following these well-defined rules before a legal strike may be declared, the unions are in line with the general tendency to avoid strikes as far as may be possible by placing effective checks upon hasty action on the part of their locals. The Western Federation of Miners, perhaps the most belligerent of the industrial unions, will not sanction a strike of any local unless ordered by three-fourths of the resident members in good standing.[10]

The important advantage urged in behalf of the industrial union in strikes is its ability, on occasion, to bring all parts of the organization to the support of any one part. Thus, a strike of the firemen at the mines or even the firemen on a particular railroad may cause little inconvenience to well organized employers, whereas a general strike of all workers

[10] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. V, sec. 1 and sec. 2. When the great strike of 1903 was declared in the Cripple Creek district, the business men issued an ultimatum that the striking miners must pay cash for their merchandise. In retaliation the Western Federation of Miners established four cooperative stores which proved so successful that other enterprises were soon contemplated. In June, 1904, the railroad station at Independence was dynamited and immediately thereafter the whole district experienced a reign of terror. Property belonging to the various unions was destroyed, and the coöperative stores at Victor, Goldfield, Anaconda, and Cripple Creek established by the Western Federation of Miners were entered, contents demolished or carried away, and a loss of thousands of dollars was incurred by the Federation. Miners' Magazine, Vol. V, No. 52, June 23, 1904.

in their employ, resulting in a tie-up of the whole industry, is a serious blow to business activity.[11]

The general executive board in some cases has power to call a general strike of all union men in the industry. Thus, the United Mine Workers give their national board "power to order a general strike or suspension by a two-thirds' vote at any time during the year that they deem necessary, provided that all district presidents, vice-presidents and secretaries be called into joint conference for consideration before any general strike or suspension order be issued."[12] Likewise the Western Federation of Miners has declared that whenever a strike, regularly ordered by the union, is in progress the president and executive board shall have power to call out any other union or unions necessary to make the strike successful.[13]

Once the strike is entered upon, it is usual for the national executive board to take full charge of its conduct. In the United Brewery Workmen the amount of strike benefit paid by the international union is fixed by the international executive board according to the amount in the treasury and the number of members on strike. In other cases a permanent defense fund is established, as in the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees[14] and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen. The strike fund of the latter organization is formed from a per capita tax of ten cents per month for each member; and the amount of strike benefit is definitely fixed at $5.00 per week to each member after the first week of strike. A third system of strike benefits, adopted by the Western Federation of Miners, leaves the regulation of strike benefits to the local officials. Each local appoints a relief committee which joins with the dis-

[11] See Report of the Industrial Commission, 1901, Vol. VII, p. 268 et seq.

[12] Constitution, United Mine Workers, 1905, Art. II, sec. 6.

[13] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. V, sec. 2.

[14] The United Brotherhood, in common with the other national unions in the American Labor Union, intrusts its defense fund to the general federation for the purpose of conducting and supporting strikes; see Constitution, American Labor Union, 1903.

trict union in fixing the amount of strike benefit. In an emergency, however, the general executive board may levy a special assessment sufficient to meet current demands.[15]

The national executive board may declare a strike off so far as the national union is concerned whenever circumstances demand it. The local union may continue the strike as long as its treasury permits, but it receives no further aid from the national officials.

The efficacy of the general strike is strongly held by industrial unionists. One of the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners asserted that the Colorado strike of 1903–1904 might have been settled in a few weeks had not the railroad employees, bound by time agreements, rendered invaluable assistance to employers by remaining at work. In other words, the value of the strike as an instrument of coercion largely depends upon the amount of injury done to the business of the employer; and the maximum injury the industrialists claim may be inflicted through a general strike. Or, looking at the question from a different point of view, the locomotive engineer, for example, who works with a "scab" crew during a strike of the firemen or the trainmen may be warranted in doing so from a purely personal standpoint, but he has not the same right, it is argued, if the greatest good to the greatest number is the primary aim of the labor movement. This is practically the stand taken by the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, a comparatively recent union, which strives to use the strongly organized departments in support of the weak. Thus, while some branches of the railway service are strong enough to exact favorable terms, others lack the necessary vitality to bargain successfully with employers. The national officials claim, therefore, that the existence of a central authority for all branches enables the organization to act as a unit in the redress of grievances.

[15] Constitution, Western Federation of Miners, 1903, Art. IV, sec. 1.

On the other hand, some leaders in the labor movement are opposed to this form of strike. The president of the American Federation of Labor has declared:

> The so-called industrial system of organization implies sympathetic strikes and time and experience have demonstrated that as a general proposition they should be discarded, while strikes of particular trades or callings have had the largest number of successes with a minimum of defeats. By its methods one of our international organizations could be financially drained and actually ruined in a very brief period in an effort to sustain the members involved, while a well formulated trade union movement could be indefinitely sustained financially. The advocates of industrialism undertake to correct an error by the commission of a graver one.[16]

Ordinarily a distinction is made in the trade union world between a general strike or the strike of an industrial union and a sympathetic strike or the strike of an allied trades council. Briefly stated, a general strike occurs when all the members involved have a common grievance against their employers. For instance, since all brewery employees working under a common agreement with the brewery proprietors are equally interested in keeping the terms of the agreement inviolate, a strike of any one department in the brewery supported by the other trades represented therein is a so-called general strike. Thus, in theory the grievance of one trade is the grievance of all trades.

A sympathetic strike, on the contrary, involves work people having no direct grievance against their own employers who strike for the sole purpose of assisting members of associated trades on strike. A typical sympathetic strike would be the case of carpenters, bricklayers or electrical workers belonging to a trades council and employed on a building under separate agreements quitting work to help the cause of the striking elevator constructors, although the grievance concerns only one trade directly. In so far as the allied trades council has a single agreement covering the various unions in the council, however, a strike resulting

[16] Proceedings, President's Report, American Federation of Labor, 1903.

from a violation of any part of the agreement affects all trades alike and may be classed as a general strike.

The industrial union may be contrasted with the allied trades council in the conduct of strikes. Alliances such as the International Building Trades Council and the Metal Trades Federation expect each trade strike to be financed by the national union of the craft which has a national treasury entirely apart from the national trades alliance. That the lack of adequate funds with which to aid striking unions has proved a serious weakness in administration is largely conceded by the abler leaders who are generally united in the opinion that in the absence of a strike benefit fund, the national organization has practically no discipline over the local bodies. On the other hand, the presence of a large central treasury from which striking members may receive financial assistance is sufficient guarantee in most cases that the national officers can safely assume entire charge of the strike and control the locals at all stages.

Although there seems to be no theoretical reason why the allied trades council may not accumulate a sufficiently large defense fund, practical difficulties have thus far stood in the way. Among the more important of these are: (1) the national trade union maintains an independent treasury to which its locals contribute; (2) the officers of a national union are often jealous of the powers conferred on the executive of a trades council and suspicious of the other unions as well; and (3) the expense pertaining to the administration of separate national unions serves to diminish the surplus income available for the treasury of the council. The industrial union in this particular, with but one national office, requiring a relatively smaller office force and with one journal for the whole industry, gains important economies in administration and has a much better opportunity to accumulate a national fund.

(*e*) More or less closely related to the strike as a favorite weapon of labor organization is the boycott. For effective

use, the boycott requires, first, a directive influence over the purchasing power of union members, and second, sufficient numerical strength to seriously cripple the business of the boycotted firm. The Knights of Labor as a type of organization satisfied both these requirements, exerting as it did the necessary control over the general membership and representing in many cases a large purchasing power in a single locality. The American Federation as a voluntary association may not possess the same authority to enforce a boycott, but it has exercised and continues to exercise considerable influence over the membership of its national unions.

The industrial union under ordinary circumstances, it is claimed, is prepared to use the boycott more effectively than the trade union. Comprehensive organizations like the United Brewery Workmen or the United Mine Workers, comprising different branches of extensive industries, may bring greater pressure to bear in the exercise of the boycott for the following reasons: first, their national executive is the central administrative authority for the different trades represented and may direct a boycott over a wider class area, and second, other things being equal, the industrial principle embraces under a single head a greater proportion of the purchasing strength of a given community.[17] In the last analysis it still remains true, however, that the success of any boycott depends largely upon the support not of one trade or industry but of organized labor in general.

In the agitation of a boycott, labor journals play a leading part. The firms against whom the unions have grievances are placed on an unfair list which is published regularly in the union weekly or monthly papers. Fac-similes of the different labels in use are also printed in the columns of these publications, and in the last few years large sums have been spent by certain unions, partly resembling the indus-

[17] A further development of the boycott is the refusal of the industrial union to handle raw material unless it is purchased from union firms. A trade union cannot effectively make such a demand of the employer since it represents only a portion of his working staff.

trial type, notably the United Hatters, the United Garment Workers and the Boot and Shoe Workers, in advertising and extending the use of union made goods.[18] Thus a form of negative boycott, less direct but oftentimes accomplishing more permanent results, is the exclusive patronage of union stamped goods. Such articles as hats, shoes, cigars and tobacco, ready-made clothing and beer are largely in demand by the laboring classes; and it is principally in these articles that machinery is playing a growing part and the proportion of unskilled to skilled is rapidly increasing. This condition is often emphasized as a further argument in favor of the industrial union.

(*f*) In the foregoing pages reference has been made to the claim repeatedly advanced that the industrial union has a strategic advantage over the trade union in bargaining with employers and that one element in this superiority is the control exercised by a central authority over a larger and more representative body of work people in a single locality. The same causes operate to increase the effectiveness of the industrial union in political activity. Certain unions, such as the United Mine Workers and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, however, prefer to hold aloof from party political affiliation and to direct their attention more particularly to the candidate or the measure.[19] Other unions,

[18] The president of the Mine Workers in a recent annual report declared. "There are two kinds of organization that deserve our consideration. First, we should organize as producers; second, and of no less importance we should organize as consumers. In order that our members may more thoroughly familiarize themselves with the labels of the various trades, I would recommend that our national secretary be instructed to procure and transmit to each local union a card or pamphlet bearing fac-similes of the labels of the various organizations"; Proceedings, Fifteenth Annual Convention, United Mine Workers of America, President's Report, p. 35.

[19] The activity of the more conservative industrial unions in politics is illustrated by the following recommendation: "There are two bills pending in the United States Congress which deserve and should receive the indorsement of this convention, and the active support of all local unions. They are the Anti-Injunction Bill and the Eight-hour Bill. I would recommend that the national secretary be instructed to ascertain the exact status of these bills, to secure their proper numbers and titles and to send a circular letter con-

notably the Western Federation of Miners and the United Brewery Workmen, are actively engaged in advancing the interests of a definite cause through active participation in party politics. In fact the Brewery Workmen and the Western Federation of Miners seem to have been organized partly with a view to political activity. Their printed documents reveal a conscious effort to convert the organization on occasion into an effective voting machine, and to gain the necessary unity of sentiment by adopting the principles of socialism and directing the whole membership in an endeavor to establish the socialistic commonwealth.

The following extract from one of the official journals gives a general idea of the stand taken by the more radical unions:

> The United Brewery Workmen have from the beginning affiliated themselves with the radical wing of the labor movement represented by the socialist party. They have realized the passing of strikes and boycotts as means of permanent reform and have advocated the ballot to overthrow capitalism. Any reform under the capitalist system is at the best temporary and merely patchwork. So long as the present system of industry continues, strikes and boycotts are necessary evils, to be removed as soon as economic and political forces join hand in a common movement. Socialism, the union of industrial and political forces, is the result of maladjustment in the present system of production.[20]

Likewise the president of the Western Federation of Miners in his report to the national convention of 1902 declared:

> The most important action which you can take at this convention is to advise the members of your organization to adopt the principles of socialism without equivocation. . . . I earnestly hope that the members of the Western Federation of Miners and the members of all other labor organizations will in the immediate future meet in convention for the purpose of taking political action regardless of

taining information to each of our local miners, with such instructions as will enable our members collectively and individually to petition their representatives in Congress to vote for these measures"; see Fifteenth Annual Convention, United Mine Workers, 1904. President's Report, pp. 35, 36, and 171.

[20] Brauer Zeitung, February 22, 1896.

the dominant political parties in either country, for no member of organized labor can be a true member of a labor organization and a member of the Republican, Democratic, Conservative or Liberal parties; and I suggest that this convention extend an invitation to all labor organizations to meet in convention for the purpose of outlining a plan by which we can unite for political action.[21]

Two years later the executive board of the Federation, expressing the belief that strikes and boycotts are "but primitive and crude methods for the settlement of controversies between employer and employee," recommended that independent political action be taken by all wage earners as the most practical solution of industrial problems. Finally, at the same session the delegates adopted a resolution pronouncing the Socialist Party to be "the only source through which the toiling masses can secure for themselves complete emancipation from the present system of wage slavery," and thus definitely committed the organization to the principles of international socialism.[22]

(*g*) One reason for the rise and apparent success of the industrial union in some industries has been the difficulty experienced in adjusting jurisdictional disputes.

To prevent the injurious effects of rival claims and to encourage more friendly relations between trades whose boundaries are constantly overlapping, unions sometimes form jurisdictional agreements. The Amalagmated Society of Engineers, originally an English industrial union comprising pattern-makers, machinists, millwrights, brass furnishers, coppersmiths, etc., established an American branch which became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Whenever any of the trades represented in the industrial union, *e. g.*, the machinists, came into competition with the members of the corresponding trade organized as a separate union, serious trouble arose. In 1902, the executive council of the Federation decided to expel the Amalgamated Society in order to rid the organization of

[21] Proceedings, Western Federation of Miners, Tenth Annual Convention, 1902, Report of the President.
[22] Ibid., Twelfth Annual Convention.

annoying discord.[23] A short time thereafter, in 1904, the International Union of Machinists, one of the most important of the unions whose interests brought it into direct conflict with the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, formed an agreement with the latter organization for the purpose of enabling members of the union to work peaceably together.[24] In theory, an agreement of this character, entirely aside from the success or failure of this particular instance, has certain features which distinguish it from similar agreements formed between unions of single trades. Besides covering a larger field, it establishes a definite working basis for the several trades in the industry without the delay and trouble necessarily attending separate conferences for each of the trades represented therein.

In the absence of formal agreements between labor unions, the American Federation of Labor and the allied trades councils, as indicated above, have attempted to settle disputes by voluntary arbitration.[25] But inasmuch as the extreme penalty ordinarily at their command has been the suspension of any union refusing to accept the decision of an impartial board, the federations have lacked the necessary power of enforcement and have often failed signally to lessen the tension between rival unions.

The following resolution, designed to remove this defect, though defeated in the 1903 convention of the American Federation of Labor, expresses fairly well the prevailing sentiment among industrial unionists:

> Since the jurisdiction disputes between national and international unions are becoming more acute every year, and since this warfare is the result of labor organizations having failed to adapt themselves to economic development, Resolved, That the 23rd Convention of

[23] American Labor Union Journal, Vol. II, Nos. 18 and 23. February 4 and March 10, 1904.

[24] See Baltimore Sun, October 8, 1904; also Machinists' Journal, September, 1904, p. 790. The referendum vote on the agreement when submitted to the membership resulted in an overwhelming majority in its favor.

[25] An important agreement of this character exists at present among the trades in the printing industry.

the American Federation of Labor appoint a committee whose duty it shall be to study the situation and report to the next convention a plan by which the trade unions can be grouped together on industrial lines.[28]

With all trades represented in the industry under a single national control, the advocates of this measure confidently expected to reduce the number of jurisdictional disputes and to add to the effectiveness of the unions involved.

Whenever local jurisdictional disputes cannot be satisfactorily adjusted by the local executive board, an appeal is taken to the national executive board whose decision is binding on all parties involved until the next annual or biennial convention. There are certain peculiarities in the structure of industrial unions which strengthen the power of the executive board in this field of activity. A non-centralized alliance like the American Federation of Labor, for example, or even the allied trades council, has little power to enforce its decisions compared with an autonomous industrial union like the United Brewery Workmen or the United Mine Workers. Temporary suspension or expulsion from the voluntary association of independent trades—the extreme penalty—is a mild form of punishment, inasmuch as the disciplined union may affiliate with a rival federation. On the other hand, where each branch of the industry depends upon one national organization to maintain favorable trade conditions, the decisions of the national board are usually obeyed.

[28] Proceedings, American Federation of Labor, 1903, pp. 160, 161.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY STUDIES

IN

Historical and Political Science

(Edited by H. B. ADAMS, 1882-1901)

J. M. VINCENT,

J. H. HOLLANDER, W. W. WILLOUGHBY,

Editors.

TWENTY-FOURTH SERIES, 1906.

The University Studies will continue to publish, as heretofore, the results of recent investigations in History, Political Science, and Political Economy. The new series will present topics of interest in the early political, social and economic history of Europe and the United States. The cost of subscription for the regular Annual Series, comprising about 600 pages, with index, is $3.00 (foreign postage 50 cents). Single numbers, or special monographs, at special prices.

For the year 1906, the titles given below are now announced; other numbers will follow from time to time.

SPANISH-AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS PRECEDING THE WAR OF 1898. By H. E. Flack. 50 cents.

THE FINANCES OF AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS. By Aaron M. Sakolski. 75 cents.

EARLY DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH RUSSIA. By John C. Hildt. 50 cents.

STATE RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PARTIES IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1776-1870. By H. M. Wagstaff. 50 cents.

NATIONAL LABOR FEDERATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. By William Kirk. 75 cents.

TRADE AGREEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. By Frederick W. Hilbert.

THE APPRENTICE AND AMERICAN TRADE UNIONS. By James M. Motley.

FIVE CENTURIES OF SUMPTUARY LAW IN EUROPE. By J. M. Vincent.

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS OF BALTIMORE.

American Journal of Mathematics. FRANK MORLEY, Editor. Quarterly. 4to. Volume XXVIII in progress. $5 per volume. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

American Chemical Journal. IRA REMSEN, Editor. Monthly. 8vo. Volume XXXVI in progress. $5.00 per year. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

American Journal of Philology. B. L. GILDERSLEEVE, Editor. Quarterly. 8vo. Volume XXVII in progress. $3 per volume. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

Studies in Historical and Political Science. J. M. VINCENT, J. H. HOLLANDER, W. W. WILLOUGHBY, Editors. Monthly. 8vo. Volume XXIV in progress. $3 per volume. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

Johns Hopkins University Circular. Monthly. 8vo. $1 per year.

Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin. Monthly. 4to. Volume XVII in progress. $2 per year. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

Johns Hopkins Hospital Reports. 4to. Volume XIII in progress. $5 per volume. (Foreign postage fifty cents.)

Contributions to Assyriology and Semitic Philology. PAUL HAUPT and FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Editors. Volume VI in progress.

Memoirs from the Biological Laboratory. W. K. BROOKS, Editor. Volume VI in progress.

Modern Language Notes. A. M. ELLIOTT, Editor. Monthly. 4to. Volume XXI in progress. $1.50 per volume. (Foreign postage twenty-five cents.)

American Journal of Insanity. HENRY M. HURD, Editor. Quarterly. 8vo. Volume LXIII in progress. $5 per volume.

Terrestrial Magnetism and Atmospheric Electricity. L. A. BAUER, Editor. Quarterly. 8vo. Volume XI in progress. $2.50 per volume. (Foreign postage twenty-five cents.)

Reprint of Economic Tracts. J. H. HOLLANDER, Editor. First series, $1.50. Second series in progress, $1.00.

Report of the Maryland Geological Survey.

Report of the Johns Hopkins University. Presented by the President to the Board of Trutsees.

Register of the Johns Hopkins University. Giving the list of officers and students, and stating the regulations, etc.

ROWLAND'S PHOTOGRAPH OF THE NORMAL SOLAR SPECTRUM. Ten plates. $20.

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION OF THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA-VEDA. M. Bloomfield, Editor. 3 vols. Folio. $50.

POEMA DE FERNAN GONÇALEZ. Edited by C. Carroll Marden. 284 pp. $2.50 net.

THE TAILL OF RAUF COILYEAR. Edited by William Hand Browne. 164 pp. $1 net.

A NEW CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. Paul Haupt, Editor. Prospectus on application.

STUDIES IN HONOR OF PROFESSOR GILDERSLEEVE. 527 pp. $6.

THE PHYSICAL PAPERS OF HENRY A. ROWLAND. 716 pp. $7.50.

BALTIMORE LECTURES ON MOLECULAR DYNAMICS AND THE WAVE THEORY OF LIGHT. By Lord Kelvin. 716 pp. $4.50 net.

THE OYSTER. By William K. Brooks. 225 pp. $1 net.

ECCLESIASTES: A new metrical translation. By Paul Haupt. 50 pp. 50 cents net.

Communications should be addressed to The Johns Hopkins Press.

The Quarterly Journal of Economics

Published for Harvard University.

Books, periodicals, and manuscript to be addressed, EDITORS of QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS, Cambridge, Mass.
Business letters to be addressed, GEO. H. ELLIS CO., Publishers, 272 Congress Street, Boston, Mass. Subscription, $3.00 a year.

Editor.

F. W. TAUSSIG.

Associate Editors.

T. N. CARVER. C. J. BULLOCK.
W. Z. RIPLEY. E. F. GAY.

A. P. ANDREW.

CONTENTS FOR MAY 1906.

I. THE INFLUENCE OF THE CROPS UPON BUSINESS IN AMERICA . . . . . A. Piatt Andrew
II. THE GERMAN STEEL SYNDICATE . . . . . Francis Walker
III. THE INVESTMENTS OF HARVARD COLLEGE: AN EPISODE IN THE FINANCES OF THE REVOLUTION . . . . . Andrew McFarland Davis
IV. THE MUSICIANS OF ST. LOUIS AND NEW YORK. John R. Commons
V. THE COLLATERAL TRUST MORTGAGE IN RAILWAY FINANCE . . . . . Thomas Warner Mitchell
VI. THE SWISS NATIONAL BANK . . . . . Julius Landmann
RECENT PUBLICATIONS UPON ECONOMICS.

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1906.

I. WAGES AND PRICES IN RELATION TO INTERNATIONAL TRADE . . . . . F. W. Taussig
II. THE DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES . . . . . Walter F. Willcox
III. THE RECENT GROWTH OF CO-OPERATION IN IRELAND . . . . . David A. McCabe
IV. THE SOCIALIST ECONOMICS OF KARL MARX AND HIS FOLLOWERS . . . . . Thorstein Veblen
V. THE RELATION OF MARGINAL RENTS TO PRICE . . . . . Frank T. Carlton
NOTES AND MEMORANDA:
On the Introduction of the Cotton Industry into England . . . . . William H. Price
Change in Mortgage Taxation in New York in 1906 . . . . . Frank A. Fetter
Taxation of Railroad and Canal Property in New Jersey . . . . . Winthrop M. Daniels
Seligman's "Principles of Economics" . . . F. W. Taussig
RECENT PUBLICATIONS UPON ECONOMICS.

The American Economic Association

The publications of the Association were begun in 1886 and have continued to appear in various forms and series. They number twenty-three complete volumes to the close of 1905, and include many of the most important monographs on economics that have appeared in America. A complete price list will be sent on application to the addresses below.

Recent numbers are as follows:

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME III, 1902.

No. 1. **Fourteenth Annual Meeting; Papers on International Trade (3); Industrial Policy (2); Public Finance (2); Negro Problem; Arbitration of Labor Disputes; Economic History.** Pp. 400. Price, $1.50.

No. 2. **The Negro in Africa and America.** By JOSEPH A. TILLINGHAST. Pp. 240. Price, in paper, $1.25; in cloth, $1.50.

No. 3. **The Finances of New Hampshire.** By MAURICE H. ROBINSON. Price, $1.00.

No. 4. **The Rent of Land in Economic Theory.** By ALVIN S. JOHNSON. Price, 75 cents.

VOLUME IV, 1903.

No. 1. **Fifteenth Annual Meeting; Papers on Trades Unions (4); Railway Regulation (2); Theory of Wages; Theory of Rent; Oriental Currency Problem; Economics and Social Progress.** Pp. 298. Price, $1.25.

No. 2. **Ethnic Factors in the Population of Boston.** By FREDERICK A. BUSHEE. Pp. 171. Price, $1.00.

No. 3. **History of Contract Labor in the Hawaiian Islands.** By KATHARINE COMAN. Pp. 74. Price, 75 cents.

No. 4. **The Income Tax in the Commonwealths of the United States.** By DELOS O. KINSMAN. Pp. 134. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME V, 1904.

No. 1. **Sixteenth Annual Meeting. Part I.—Papers and Discussions on Southern Agricultural and Industrial Problems (7); Social Aspects of Economic Law; Relations between Rent and Interest.** Pp. 240. Price, $1.00.

Southern Economic Problems. Reprinted from Part I. Price 50 cents.

Relations between Rent and Interest. By FRANK A. FETTER and others. Reprinted from Part I. Price, 50 cents.

No. 2. **Sixteenth Annual Meeting. Part II.—Papers and Discussions on the Management of the Surplus Reserve; Theory of Loan Credit in Relation to Corporation Economics; State Taxation of Interstate Commerce; Trusts; Theory of Social Causation.** Price, $1.00.

Theory of Social Causation. By FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS and others. Reprinted from Part II. Price, 50 cents.

No. 3. **Monopolistic Combinations in the German Coal Industry.** By FRANCIS WALKER. Price, $1.25.

No. 4. **The Influence of Farm Machinery on Production and Labor.** By HADLY W. QUAINTANCE. Price, 75 cents.

VOLUME VI, 1905.

No. 1. **Seventeenth Annual Meeting. Part I.—Presidential Address: Present Position of the Doctrine of Free Trade,** F. W. TAUSSIG; **The Theory of Money; Papers by J. Laurence Laughlin, David Kinley, A. Piatt Andrew. Discussion. Open Shop or Closed Shop? Papers by John R. Commons, John Graham Brooks, John Hibbard, Thomas Kidd. Discussion.** Pp. 226. Price, $1.00.

No. 2. **Seventeenth Annual Meeting. Part II.—Governmental Interference with Industrial Combination,** E. B. WHITNEY; **Regulation of Railway Rates,** M. A. KNAPP; **Taxation of Railways,** H. C. ADAMS and W. A. BALDWIN; **Preferential Tariffs and Reciprocity,** A. SHORTT, G. F. FOSTER, and A. W. FLUX; **Inclosure Movement,** E. F. GRAY; **Economic History of the United States,** C. D. WRIGHT. Pp. 270. Price, $1.00.

No. 3. **The History and Theory of Shipping Subsidies.** By ROYAL MEEKER. Price, $1.00.

No. 4. **The History of Labor Legislation in New York State.** By FRED R. FAIRCHILD. Price, $1.00.

Address subscriptions, applications for membership, and inquiries to the
SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION,
Princeton, New Jersey.

Address all orders, except subscriptions, to the publishers,
THE MACMILLAN CO.,
66 Fifth Avenue, New York.

STUDIES IN HISTORY, ECONOMICS AND PUBLIC LAW

EDITED BY

THE FACULTY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

RECENT NUMBERS.

VOLUME XIX, 1903-1905. 588 pp. Price, $3.00; bound, $3.50.

1. **Josiah Tucker, Economist.**
   By WALTER ERNEST CLARK, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
2. **History and Criticism of the Labor Theory of Value in English Political Economy.**
   By ALBERT C. WHITAKER, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
3. **Trade Unions and the Law in New York.**
   By GEORGE G. GROAT. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME XX, 1904. 514 pp. Price, $3.00; bound, $3.50.

1. **The Office of Justice of the Peace in England.**
   By CHARLES AUSTIN BEARD, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
2. **A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States.**
   By DAVID Y. THOMAS, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.

VOLUME XXI, 1904. 746 pp. Price, $4.00; bound, $4.50.

1. **Treaties, their Making and Enforcement.**
   By SAMUEL B. CRANDALL, Ph.D. Price, $1.50.
   Vol. XXI, No. 1, may also be obtained bound. Price, $2.00.
2. **The Sociology of a New York City Block.**
   By THOMAS JESSE JONES, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
3. **Pre-Malthusian Doctrines of Population.**
   By CHARLES E. STANGELAND, Ph.D. Price, $2.50.

VOLUME XXII, 1905. 520 pp. Price, $3.00; bound, $3.50.

The Historical Development of the Poor Law of Connecticut.
By EDWARD W. CAPEN, Ph.D.

VOLUME XXIII, 1905. 570 pp. Price, $3.50; bound, $4.00.

1. **The Economics of Land Tenure in Georgia.**
   By ENOCH MARVIN BANKS, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
2. **Mistake in Contract.**
   By EDWIN C. MCKEAG, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
3. **Combination in the Mining Industry.**
   By HENRY R. MUSSEY, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.
4. **The English Craft Guilds and the Government.**
   By STELLA KRAMER, Ph.D. Price, $1.00.

VOLUME XXIV, 1905. 521 pp. Price, $3.00; bound, $3.50.

1. **The Place of Magic in the Intellectual History of Europe.**
   By LYNN THORNDIKE, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.
2. **The Ecclesiastical Edicts of the Theodosian Code.**
   By WILLIAM K. BOYD, Ph.D. Price, 75 cents.
3. **The International Position of Japan as a Great Power.**
   By SEIJI G. HISHIDA, Ph.D. Price, $2.00.
   Vol. XXIV, No. 3, may also be obtained bound. Price, $2.50.

The set of twenty-four volumes (except that Vol. II can be supplied only in unbound Nos. 2 and 3) is offered bound for $75. Volumes I, III and IV can now be supplied only in connection with complete sets.

For further information apply to
Prof. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, Columbia University,
or to THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, New York.
London: P. S. KING & SON, Orchard House, Westminster.

BOOKS OF TIMELY INTEREST

Trusts, Pools, and Corporations

Edited by WILLIAM Z. RIPLEY

Professor of Economics at Harvard University

A collection of important documents by economic and legal specialists, dealing with the greatest problem in domestic politics now before the country. It is from such a book as this, rather than from newspaper comments or articles in popular magazines, that one can get an intelligent and accurate explanation of contemporary problems as well as a progressive history of the whole subject.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems

Edited by JOHN R. COMMONS

Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin

This book does for the problems of labor what "Trusts, Pools, and Corporations" has done for the problems of capital. The entire field of labor is thus covered by a series of actual cases with the attendant circumstances.

President Roosevelt's Railroad Policy

A collection of addresses delivered before the Economic Club of Boston. Among the speakers were the following: CHARLES A. PROUTY, Member of the Interstate Commerce Commission; DAVID WILLCOX, President of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad Company; PETER GROSSCUP, Judge of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals; and FRANK PARSONS, President of the National Public Ownership League.

The Philippine Islands

By FRED W. ATKINSON

President of the Brooklyn Polytechnic Institute, and formerly General Superintendent of Education for the Philippines

The following quotations from the author's Introduction indicate the scope of the work. "To present the results of personal observation in such a way as to give an accurate and comprehensive idea of just what our Philippine possessions are; to show the real conditions, geographical, economic, social, and political; to picture the people and their characteristics, the different phases of this problem of tropical colonization, the possibilities and the prospects,—such is the writer's endeavor."

GINN & COMPANY, PUBLISHERS

29 BEACON STREET BOSTON, MASS.

THE YALE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

FOR THE DISCUSSION OF ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL QUESTIONS

The Yale Review is the successor of the New Englander and Yale Review, founded in 1843. In 1892 its title was modified and its field specialized. It now confines itself to economics, politics, and the social sciences, giving particular attention to the scientific discussion of practical economic and social problems, and to the legislative and voluntary efforts made to solve them. Among its contributors outside of the editorial board, are Henry C. Adams, E. Benj. Andrews, Edward Atkinson, Simeon E. Baldwin, John Bascom, John Graham Brooks, T. N. Carver, J. B. Clark, Richard T. Ely, Worthington C. Ford, E. R. L. Gould, J. H. Hollander, Brayton Ives, J. Laurence Laughlin, Henry C. Lea, Emile Levasseur, Bernard Moses, H. T. Newcomb, Simon N. Patten, William Z. Ripley, L. S. Rowe, E. R. A. Seligman, Werner Sombart, H. Morse Stephens, F. J. Stimson, William Graham Sumner, F. W. Taussig, Hannis Taylor, F. A. Walker, Edward B. Whitney, David Willcox, T. S. Woolsey, Carroll D. Wright, Clinton Rogers Woodruff. It is edited by the following professors in the Departments of Political Science and History, of Yale University: HENRY W. FARNAM, E. G. BOURNE, JOHN C. SCHWAB, IRVING FISHER, G. S. CALLENDER, HENRY C. EMERY, CLIVE DAY, and A. G. KELLER.

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY

On the 15th of February, May, August and November, by

The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE, - - - $3.00 A YEAR

The Financial History of Baltimore

By J. H. HOLLANDER, Ph.D.

Professor of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University.

400 pages, 8vo. Cloth, $2.00.

This work is probably the first exhaustive study of the financial history of an American city. The author traces in detail the development of municipal expenditure, revenue, indebtedness and financial administration through the several periods of pre-corporate and corporate history. It has been found desirable to make use almost exclusively of original sources, and to emphasize the influence of administrative change upon fiscal growth. The narrative proper is supplemented by critical comment and constructive suggestion. While primarily of local interest, the book appeals to all students of local finance who will recognize many phases of the experience in Baltimore as typical of the American city. The work is fully equipped with the requisite statistical appendices.

Finances and Administration of Providence

By HOWARD K. STOKES

464 pages. 8vo. Cloth. Price, $3.50.

From the American Monthly Review of Reviews.

Among the recent studies in municipal government one of the most serious importance is Dr. Howard Kemble Stokes' account of "The Finances and Administration of Providence." Regarding Providence as a typical modern American city, Dr. Stokes traces in outline the social and economic forces underlying the present structures of local government during the first one hundred and fifty years of the city's history; and during the last fifty years, sets forth the effects of personal, political, or corporation motives upon the development of the administration, and the income and outgo of the city in more complete detail.

THE AMERICAN WORKMAN

BY PROFESSOR E. LEVASSEUR

AN AMERICAN TRANSLATION BY THOMAS S. ADAMS

EDITED BY THEODORE MARBURG

540 pages, octavo. $3.00

A History of Slavery in Virginia

BY JAMES CURTIS BALLAGH, PH.D.

160 pages, octavo. Cloth. $1.50

Cuba and International Relations

BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN, PH.D.

503 pages, octavo. $3.00

This volume is a study in American diplomacy and international relations as connected with Spain and her former colonies around the Gulf of Mexico.

The Neutrality of the American Lakes and Anglo-American Relations

BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN

200 pages, octavo. $1.25.

This volume is based upon a very complete study of material in the U. S. Department of State, and in the libraries of the United States and Canada, and will prove of much interest to students of American history and diplomacy.

American Relations in the Pacific and the Far East

1784–1900

BY JAMES MORTON CALLAHAN

180 pages, octavo. $1.50.

This work considers early American interests on the Pacific Coast; the unlocking of the gates of the Orient in Japan, China and Corea; and American relations, past and present, in Hawaii, Samoa and the Philippines.

Orders should be addressed to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

A REPRINT OF
ECONOMIC TRACTS

(SECOND SERIES)

In consequence of the favorable reception accorded the reprint of four economic tracts of the nineteenth century in 1903-4, the Johns Hopkins Press invites subscriptions to a similar reprint of four important economic tracts of the seventeenth century to be issued consecutively under the editorial direction of J. H Hollander, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University.

The series will consist of the following tracts:

(1) A DISCOURSE OF TRADE. By Nicholas Barbon. London, 1690.
(2) SEVERAL ASSERTIONS PROVED. By John Asgill. London, 1696.
(3) DISCOURSES UPON TRADE. By Dudley North. London, 1691.
(4) ENGLAND'S INTEREST CONSIDERED. By Samuel Fortrey. Cambridge, 1663.

Each tract will be supplied with a brief introductory note and necessary text annotations by the editor. The general appearance of the title page will be preserved and the original pagination will be indicated.

The edition will be limited to five hundred copies. With a view to serving the largest scientific usefulness, the subscription for the entire series of four tracts has again been fixed at the net price of one dollar (5 shillings—5 marks—6 francs).

Of the first series of reprints a limited number can yet be obtained at the price of one dollar and a half ($1.50) net, for the series. They can, however, be supplied only in conjunction with a subscription to the second series. As the edition approaches exhaustion, the price is likely to be further increased. The first series consists of the following tracts:

(1) Three Letters on "The Price of Gold." By David Ricardo, 1809.
(2) An Inquiry into the Nature and Progress of Rent. By T. R. Malthus, 1815.
(3) Essay on the Application of Capital to Land. By Sir Edward West, 1815.
(4) A Refutation of the Wage-Fund Theory. By Francis D. Longe, 1866.

Subscriptions should be sent to

THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS,
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND.

SIXTEENTH SERIES.—Anglo-American Relations and Southern History.—$3.50.

I-IV. The Neutrality of the American Lakes, etc. By J. M. Callahan. $1.25.
V. West Florida. By H. E. Chambers. 25 cents.
VI. Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina. By J. S. Bassett. 50 cents.
VII-IX. Life and Administration of Sir Robert Eden. By B. C. Steiner. $1.00.
X-XI. The Transition of North Carolina from a Colony. By E. W. Sikes. 50 cents.
XII. Jared Sparks and Alexis De Tocqueville. By H. B. Adams. 25 cents.

SEVENTEENTH SERIES.—Economic History; Maryland and the South.—$3.50.

I-II-III. History of State Banking in Maryland. By A. C. Bryan. $1.00.
IV-V. The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland. By L. F. Schmeckebier. 75 cents.
VI. The Labadist Colony in Maryland. By B. B. James. 50 cents.
VII-VIII. History of Slavery in North Carolina. By J. S. Bassett. 75 cents.
IX-X-XI. Development of the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal. By G. W. Ward. 75 cents.
XII. Public Educational Work in Baltimore. By Herbert B. Adams. 25 cents.

EIGHTEENTH SERIES.—Taxation in the Southern States; Church and Popular Education.—$3.50.

I-IV. Studies in State Taxation. Edited by J. H. Hollander. Paper, $1.00; cloth, $1.25.
V-VI. The Colonial Executive Prior to the Restoration. By P. L. Kaye. 50 cents.
VII. Constitution and Admission of Iowa into the Union. By J. A. James. 30 cents.
VIII-IX. The Church and Popular Education. By H. B. Adams. 50 cents.
X-XII. Religious Freedom in Virginia: The Baptists. By W. T. Thom. 75 cents.

NINETEENTH SERIES.—Diplomatic and Constitutional History.—$3.50.

I-III. America in the Pacific and the Far East. By J. M. Callahan. 75 cents.
IV-V. State Activities in Relation to Labor. By W. F. Willoughby. 50 cents.
VI-VII. History of Suffrage in Virginia. By J. A. C. Chandler. 50 cents.
VIII-IX. The Maryland Constitution of 1864. By W. S. Myers. 50 cents.
X. Life of Commissary James Blair. By D. E. Motley. 25 cents.
XI-XII. Gov. Hicks of Maryland and the Civil War. By G. L. Radcliffe. 50 cents.

TWENTIETH SERIES.—Colonial and Economic History.—$3.50.

I. Western Maryland in the Revolution. By B. C. Steiner. 30 cents.
II-III. State Banks since the National Bank Act. By G. E. Barnett. 50 cents.
IV. Early History of Internal Improvements in Alabama. By W. E. Martin. 30 cents.
V-VI. Trust Companies in the United States. By George Cator. 50 cents.
VII-VIII. The Maryland Constitution of 1851. By J. W. Harry. 50 cents.
IX-X. Political Activities of Philip Freneau. By S. E. Forman. 50 cents.
XI-XII. Continental Opinion on a Middle European Tariff Union. By G. M. Fisk. 30 cts.

TWENTY-FIRST SERIES.—Indiana, North Carolina and Maryland.—$3.50.

I-II. The Wabash Trade Route in the Development of the Old Northwest. By E. J. Benton. 50 cents.
III-IV. History of Internal Improvements in North Carolina. By C. C. Weaver. 50 cents.
V. History of Japanese Paper Currency. By M. Takaki. 30 cents.
VI-VII. Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750, and the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder. By St. G. L. Sioussat. 50 cents.
VIII-IX-X. Beginnings of Maryland, 1631-1639. By B. C. Steiner. 75 cents.
XI-XII. The English Statutes in Maryland. By St. G. L. Sioussat. 50 cents.

TWENTY-SECOND SERIES.—Social and Industrial History.—$3.50.

I-II. A Trial Bibliography of American Trade-Union Publications. Prepared by the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University and edited by Dr. G. E. Barnett. 50 cents.
III-IV. White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820. By E. I. McCormac. 50 cents.
V. Switzerland at the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century. By J. M. Vincent. 30 cents.
VI-VII-VIII. The Political History of Reconstruction in Virginia. By H. J. Eckenrode. 50 cents.
Lay Sermons. By Amos G. Warner. (Published as Notes Supplementary to the Studies.)
IX-X. The Foreign Commerce of Japan since the Restoration. By Y. Hattori. 50 cents.
XI-XII. Descriptions of Maryland. A bibliographical contribution, compiled chiefly from works of travel. By B. C. Steiner. 50 cents.

TWENTY-THIRD SERIES.—Colonies, Revolution, Reconstruction.—$3.50.

I-II. Reconstruction in South Carolina. By J. P. Hollis. 50 cents.
III-IV. Political Conditions in Maryland, 1777-1781. By B. W. Bond, Jr. 50 cents.
V-VI. English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660-1667. By P. L. Kaye. 50 cents.
VII-VIII. Justice in Colonial Virginia. By O. P. Chitwood. 50 cents.
IX-X. The Napoleonic Exiles in America, 1815-1819. By J. S. Reeves. 50 cents.
XI-XII. Municipal Problems in Mediaeval Switzerland. By J. M. Vincent. 50 cents.

The set of twenty-three (regular) series of Studies is offered, uniformly bound in cloth, for library use, for $80.00 net.

The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.